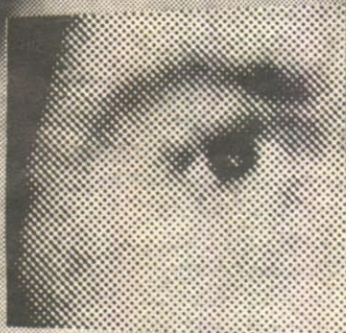


IN THESE TIMES

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The Bulgarian Connection

As Agca

raves on

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INSIDE LABOR

By David Moberg

Unfriendly skies of United fly again

Though the skies were unfriendly, United Airlines won its two-tier wages with lower pay for new crew members, and its pilots showed they could stick together for a month-long strike with few defections. But some of the most significant issues of the strike remain to be settled in court after United union leaders voted to return to work on June 14. As a result, Federal Judge Nicholas Bua's decision on whether United Chairman Richard J. Ferris can reward strikebreaking pilots and flight attendants who crossed the pilot picketline "will set extremely significant precedents for the airline industry and for labor relations in general," argues airline labor relations expert and arbitrator Mark L. Kahn.

Putting the questions—will United now employ its newly hired trainees who refused to cross the picket line? will strikebreakers get superseniority? will recently hired replacement pilots retain special pay?—before a federal judge gives some edge to the company. An arbitrator would have decided on the basis of the contract, precedent and general fairness and equity. "On the precedent of what's been going on in the industry for 40 years, the pilots would win," said Frank Spencer, emeritus professor at Northwestern University, who was formerly a pilot and secretary of the Air Lines Pilots Association (ALPA). "In arbitration pilots would prevail. But in court the issue of fairness and equity is not necessarily present." But having lost two major arbitration decisions earlier, Ferris insisted on the courts.

Yet ALPA spokesman Capt. John Leroy insisted that the union may win a more lasting victory in court that would apply to other negotiations. Basically ALPA argued in hearings that began last week that federal law protects workers from being fired, not hired or disciplined for engaging in protected collective action and that United's seniority plans and refusal to hire the trainees discriminate against people for exercising those rights. ALPA decided that since it looked like Ferris was willing to sit out a very long strike, their best bet was to return to work—under terms of an economic concession already negotiated (*In These Times*, June 12) and fight in court.

Pilots had promised not to go back until flight attendants worked out their back-to-work agreement, but the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) released pilots from that pledge after United insisted on major concessions in the flight attendants' contract. Now they will also fight in court—where they are suing United for illegally threatening to fire or discriminate against flight attendants—and in the grievance procedure. They want to enforce their contract and make United grant flight attendants seniority time for the month of the strike and reverse transfers made during the strike that gave junior flight attendants choice routes. "It may take time to get relief," an AFA spokesperson said, "but it's better than giving up something we have in our contract."

Kahn noted that pursuing the case before either an arbitrator or judge can be a ploy for one side to get off the hook, to say "damn the arbitrator" for decisions you couldn't agree to politically or for whatever reason. But since he is unaware of any significant precedent of strikebreakers receiving special breaks, "if United wanted to get a significant new precedent and wanted to set a new course, which it did, it probably wouldn't have wanted to have it arbitrated, since arbitration is an inherently conservative process. If a judge examines the history of major strike settlements, he would be inclined to settle it for the union." If Judge Bua, normally a political moderate, does not, all organized labor will suffer a serious blow.

Spencer wonders why Ferris continues to want to punish the nearly 570 new-hires, since he wants to expand United's flights, heavy hiring by many airlines over the past year has depleted the supply of the most qualified pilots, and United's lower pay and bruised image will now make it a less appealing employer. If Ferris persists, "you're going to have a tough time getting cooperation and resurrecting the 'friendly skies,'" Spencer said.

United's long history—indeed, Ferris' personal history until now—of friendly relations with pilots may have thrown pilots off guard. "They couldn't believe for months and months that this was going to turn out the way it did," Spencer said. "They didn't have any experience in strikes. If they'd known what Ferris was going to do on seniority, they'd never have agreed to the two-tier wage agreement."

Corporate execs guilty of murder

Stefan Golab, a 61-year-old Polish immigrant on a work visa, looked pale, weak and unsteady on Feb. 10, 1983, before he collapsed and died at Film Recovery Systems, Inc., a small suburban Chicago firm that removed silver from used photographic film. A coroner discovered very high levels of cyanide in his blood. After a seven-month

investigation, the Cook County state's attorney's office charged four top executives with murder, claiming that they knowingly exposed workers to dangerous levels of cyanide. On June 14 Judge Ronald J.P. Banks found the former president, plant manager and plant supervisor—the governor of Utah had refused extradition of a company vice-president—guilty of murder and various misdemeanors.

During the course of the trial, numerous witnesses revealed how callously the company treated worker health and safety:

- one worker said that despite wearing five paper face masks at a time, he got headaches and vomited from the noxious cyanide fumes released from the company's treatment vats;
- a saleswoman who reported an "overpowering smell" that "burned the back of your throat" when she visited the plant, tried unsuccessfully three times to sell the company safety equipment;
- at his bosses' direction, another worker painted over the skull-and-crossbones on steel containers of cyanide-tainted sludge and hid them from inspectors after Golab's death;
- a former bookkeeper testified that illegal aliens were selected to work with the dangerous chemicals;
- other workers testified about recurrent nausea and illness but said they were never warned of dangers.

"I think it's going to have a big impact," David Simmons, newsletter editor of the Chicago Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, said of the decision. "There are hundreds of companies like Film Recovery Systems out there. In the absence of OSHA, this will have some deterrent effect."

A recent report by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment concluded that the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has done little to protect workers over the past 14 years. That is even more true under Reagan, whose first appointment to head OSHA, Thorne Aucter, eliminated unannounced workplace inspections, and whose second, Robert Rowland, recently resigned after revelations of his participation in decisions affecting companies in which he owned more than \$300,000 in stock. The OTA report concluded that the drop in injury rates in 1980 and 1981 was not a result of greater safety but rather of the deep recession and loss of manufacturing jobs.

Although the case marks the first time company executives have been found guilty of workplace deaths, prosecutor Jay Magnuson insists that the case established no new principles but merely expanded application. Under Illinois law, murder charges can be brought when someone "knowingly creates a strong probability of death or great bodily harm"—like firing through a tavern window—even if there is no specific intent of killing a particular victim. Although the Michigan attorney general charged General Dynamics with manslaughter for a worker death, there have been few other prosecutors willing to prosecute companies or executives.

Magnuson was inspired to bring the charges in part because of discoveries in his investigation, in part because of arguments in the work of a former professor, Christopher Stone of the University of Southern California. Stone agreed that this case was not a doctrinal departure. "You've simply got some imagination and boldness in prosecution," he said.

In many instances, corporate executives are so far removed from the workplace that it would be hard to sustain indictments against individuals. But Stone thinks prosecutors should bring criminal charges more frequently against corporations for workplace safety and pollution violations. In another pending case in Chicago, prosecutors are charging Chicago Magnet Wire with multiple battery for exposing workers—none of whom has died yet—to a variety of noxious chemicals, such as phosgene. Stone argues that in many cases courts could put companies on probation, force them to keep more detailed records or submit them to the jurisdiction of a court-appointed safety officer.

With the decline in OSHA and the continued mayhem in the workplace—25 deaths for every working day—criminal prosecutions of companies and executives may do what weak fines and rare inspections cannot do. In the case of Film Recovery Systems, it is worth recalling that an OSHA inspector had stopped at the plant, checked the company's records and given it a clean bill of health not long before Golab died.

Sending labor law violators to jail

Maybe criminal proceedings will provide some help in fighting management labor law violators as well. At the end of May a judge in Sheboygan, Wis., sentenced the president of R-Way, a small furniture manufacturer, to 30 days in jail and \$1,000 fine for attacking a striker and damaging his camera. Donald Spitler had alienated even the business leaders of Sheboygan for his tough, anti-union actions in trying to force deep wage cuts and other concessions in a strike that started Jan. 10, 1984.

Eventually, workers who had not found jobs elsewhere regained their old positions but had to accept the concessions under a deal worked out by the regional director of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) following a company appeal of an original finding that it was guilty of unfair labor practices. Spitler's conviction may give them some slight satisfaction. United Furniture Workers President Carl Scarbrough said, "Perhaps if all corporate leaders who disregard laws, such as the National Labor Relations Act, were faced with prison sentences, then workers could get justice on the job."

But they shouldn't look to the NLRB. A study by AFL-CIO lawyers showed how radically the labor board has changed from the general pattern that had prevailed under both Democratic and Republican administrations in the '70s. Under Donald Dotson, Reagan's appointee as chairman, the board has dismissed in whole or in part three times the percentage of cases brought against employers compared with earlier boards. At the same time, there was a decrease of more than half in the percentage of cases in which charges against unions were dismissed. In the first three months of 1985, after the last Carter appointee left, the trend worsened.



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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE FIRST BILLION DOLLAR-PLUS corporate merger did not occur until 1975. Yet in the last four years, there have been 40 such mergers—17 in 1984 alone.

Economists are comparing the present spate of mergers to the great turn-of-the-century wave that produced U.S. Steel and Standard Oil. But while that merger wave prepared the way for the emergence of the U.S. as a world economic power, this one may be an effect of its decline. Instead of producing economies of scale or increased influence over the world market, the new wave seems merely to be enriching investment bankers and a new breed of finance capitalist, dubbed the "raider" by his managerial foes.

This merger wave has also raised troubling questions about who really controls American industry. Is it the corporate managers; the stockholders, who are now dominated by large institutional investors; the money managers who oversee those institutional investments; or is it the raiders like Texan T. Boone Pickens and Sir James Goldsmith, who have catalyzed the current merger wave?

There are three causes for the merger wave. The first are systemic or structural: industries like oil or steel that are facing overcapacity and declining profits have used mergers to bolster their own profits. As Mesa's Pickens has said, "It has become cheaper to look for oil on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange than in the ground."

The second cause is the behavior of interest rates and prices during the last decade. The rise in prices has increased the nominal value of corporate assets, but the increase in interest rates has prevented stock prices from increasing proportionately. As a result, many firms are undervalued in respect to the total value of their assets, making them attractive to takeovers.

The third reason is what *Forbes* described as the Reagan administration's "virtual elimination of anti-trust restrictions based on size." Into this supermarket raiders like Pickens have wheeled their shopping carts.

Few of the raiders actually buy the companies that they try to take over. Pickens has never acquired a major corporation. Instead, they set off a spiral of defense and counterdefense by the target company's management that usually results in the stock price increasing and another firm (a "white knight") initiating a friendly takeover.

Pickens' bid for Gulf Oil was classic. In October 1983, when Pickens began buying Gulf stock, it was selling at \$41 a share. Pickens offered its shareholders \$55 a share. But then in March 1984, Gulf's management arranged for Chevron to buy Gulf and to buy out Pickens at \$80 a share. Pickens and Mesa netted \$760 million without drilling an oil well or selling a tank of gas.

To prevent a hostile takeover, a firm's management will sometimes buy out the raiders' stock at a premium. St. Regis paid Goldsmith a \$50.5 million premium in "greenmail" to greet his bid, and Walt Disney forked over \$60 million to Saul Steinberg.

The raiders have been assisted by a new breed of investment banker. The most important is Michael R. Milken of Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc., who made a reported \$25 million last year in fees from takeover attempts. The 39-year-old Milken perfected the technique of selling "junk bonds" to finance takeover attempts. Often no money will change hands.

What happens is this: Pickens or Goldsmith will set up a dummy corporation. Milken will arrange for institutional investors to buy bonds in the new corporation, the purchase to take place when the dummy company attempts to buy 51 percent in the target company. These bonds are termed "junk" only because they pay a higher return (and include a greater risk)



Nicole Ferentz

Have raiders like Texan T. Boone Pickens catalyzed the current merger wave?

Corporate raiders are speeding decline

than the bonds floated by Fortune 500 companies. But in the present climate they have been snatched up eagerly by institutions and their money managers. The money managers correctly anticipate that if a takeover does take place, the target firm's stock will initially shoot up and make it possible for their clients to get out with a quick profit.

Even banks that formerly looked askance at takeover financing have stepped into the fray. Thus Pittsburgh's Mellon Bank helped Pickens finance his bid for Phillips Petroleum.

Some raiders and their allies profess no allegiance except to their own bank account, but Pickens, who claims descent from Daniel Boone, fancies himself a "populist" acting on behalf of the neglected shareholder. He blames the undervaluation of corporate assets on mismanagement rather than general economic conditions and sees himself at war with entrenched management looking out only for its own vested interest.

There is some truth to Pickens' characterization of management. He and other raiders choose firms that are neither strong market performers like IBM or crippled companies on the verge of liquidation, but rather companies like Gulf or St. Regis whose potential appears to be squandered by an incompetent management complacent about unprofitable holdings. Pickens likes to recount how Phillips Petroleum hung onto a losing resort complex in Florida simply to have a "perk" for its executives.

But whether takeover or the threat of takeover actually improves the management of these companies—and American industry as a whole—is another question.

In Washington this month, Pickens' foes, led by Andrew C. Sigler, chairman of

Champion International and the head of the Business Roundtable's committee on mergers, have been lobbying for restrictions on "greenmail" and stricter enforcement of anti-trust.

Their main contention is that the raiders encourage corporate managers to neglect long-term investments for short-term profits. William C. Norris, president of Control Data, put it this way, "As companies strive to avoid becoming targets—to push share prices continually upward—management attention is riveted to short-term results."

While the pro-takeover forces argue that stock prices reflect investors' estimation of a company's long-term rather than simply short-term prospects, managers seem to have followed the pattern described by Norris. In the year between Pickens' bid for Gulf and its takeover by Chevron, Gulf slashed research and development expenditures. After Chevron took over, it abandoned Gulf's vaunted research institute in Pittsburgh. Phillips Petroleum's research expenditures have been cut 75 percent since the takeover battle began.

When the raiders have succeeded in taking over firms, they have sometimes squandered their assets in order to pay off the costs of the original acquisition. After Denver oilman Marvin Davis took over Twentieth Century Fox in 1981, he took \$539 million out of it to pay his costs of purchasing it. One film executive told *Business Week*, "Davis has just raped this company."

The raiders' foes also argue that the merger wave has diverted billions of dollars into wasteful consumption that could have been used for productive investment. They have a weaker case here. Theoretically, the money expended in takeovers either remains as savings or accrues to individuals for consumption, where it can lead to new

investment. It doesn't simply disappear.

But the current mergers are fueling a trend toward a parasitism in the American economy. Both the talent expended in and the reward accruing to investment bankers, lawyers and financiers is out of proportion to any socially redeemable value they are creating. For instance, Salomon Bros. and its bankers got \$29.6 million, Morgan Stanley got \$16.5 million and Merrill Lynch \$18.9 million for their parts in the Gulf takeover battle.

Managerial revolution.

Pickens and the raiders believe they are the vanguard of a new revolution that is returning power to the stockholders, who ceded it to the managers over the last 50 years. Supply-side economist Arthur Laffer endorses this conclusion. The raiders, Laffer says, "are really breaking the vise of the managing class."

Corporate executives, on the other hand, express disbelief at Pickens' call for them to heed their stockholders. Champion's Sigler says, "The problem is deciding who the hell the corporation is responsible to. I can't ask my shareholders what they want. Champion is 75 percent owned by institutions, and my shareholders change so damn fast I don't even know who they are. We're owned by a bunch of index funds. Who votes for an index fund? Some damn mathematical formula votes your stock."

One of the raiders' chief academic defenders, Rochester's Michael C. Jensen, views the takeover battles as a struggle between "management teams...for the right to control—that is, to manage—corporate resources."

The truth lies more with Sigler and Jensen. Even Pickens, who owns only 2 percent of Mesa, is a manager rather than a classic owner. And the stockholders that he or any other raider claim to represent are largely composed of enormous institutions and very wealthy individuals by no means in need of populist counsel. But the takeover battle represents more than what Jensen calls a new development in the "managerial labor market."

Corporate managers are losing control of their operations, but not to specific stockholders or institutions. The rise of institutional investors has given greater power to the money managers who represent them. The money managers tend to heed short-term turns of the market. As *Forbes* put it, "Money managers, who control two-thirds of U.S. stock trading volume, tend to take the money and run."

At the same time, the decline in profitable investment outlets in mining and manufacturing has prompted corporate managers to neglect productive investments in favor of what Robert Reich has called "paper entrepreneurialism." Thus, as the money managers have emerged, their power has been further enhanced by the proclivities of the corporate manager.

But as Sigler correctly notes, a corporate manager who heeds the wishes of a money manager becomes prisoner to a formula rather than a green eyeshade. The money managers—like Pickens and the raiders—exercise power by establishing an environment in which the corporate managers operate. By themselves they are not terribly important.

The corporate managers' loss of power is measured in their loss of discretion over decision-making. The managers have less power to make long-term investments that might in the short run damage the company's balance sheet, but that in the long run will make it better able to compete in the world market.

Such a loss in discretion not only diminishes the managers' power, but also the ability of American industry to compete in a world market increasingly dominated by large Japanese firms that enjoy the luxury of long-range planning and close government regulation.

In this respect, the raiders and the money managers are speeding America's industrial decline.

INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

The age of opportunity

A subminimum wage bill is being pushed again in Congress this year, and this time a little sugar-coating by Secretary of Labor William Brock may make it more palatable to members of Congress. The Youth Opportunity Act, as the administration so euphemistically calls it, would drop the current minimum wage by 25 percent for teenagers during a five-month period called "the summer months." By the administration's figuring, the 85-cents-an-hour reduction would create 400,000 new jobs for a segment of the population that's been chronically unemployed.

There is strong union opposition to the bill, as labor leaders see the specter of low-paid teenagers being used as another bargaining chip to keep older and better paid workers in line. Jay Harvey of the AFL-CIO calls the bill "a travesty." "It doesn't create new jobs and it doesn't get at the root causes of unemployment," he added. "What it will do is provide a \$4 billion windfall profit for the fast food industry." Joining the AFL-CIO in opposition are the Urban Coalition, the NAACP and the Jewish Community Relations Council, among others. Many of the supposed benefactors—the 18 percent of 16 to 19 year olds who haven't given up on looking for a job—aren't so thrilled either. Last month 600 of them travelled to Washington from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and cities in North Carolina to protest the slave labor wages of the Youth Opportunity Act.

Opponents also say that because the minimum wage hasn't been adjusted for inflation that its buying power has already substantially diminished in the past few years—and with no noticeable boost to the economy through job creation. Echoing Harvey, many add that the Youth Opportunity Act doesn't address the real issues: the lack of vocational training, the portioning of jobs to the suburbs and out of the reach of many inner-city youth and other residual discrimination that ensures that 40 to 60 percent of black teenagers looking for a job are unemployed.

There's talk on the hill that Brock will try to sweeten the program by scaling down some of its more objectionable parts. The secretary of labor may soon offer a revised plan that will reduce the program from three years to two, limit the summer months from five to three months and drop the minimum wage by 50 cents, instead of 85 cents. Brock also hinted to the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee last month that there may be a possibility of adding a chunk of funds for vocational training. But for AFL-CIO's Harvey, at least, the prospect doesn't defuse the issue of job competition and anti-union backlash. Said Harvey: "Our friends in the Senate should have been tougher on Brock. There is no compromise. A subminimum wage is bad social and economic policy."

Common complaints

Virginians working in jobs that entail rapid, repetitive movements that often lead to damaged tendons and muscles in the upper extremities are alarmed by a recent state Supreme Court ruling. In late April the court overruled the state Industrial Commission when it had earlier awarded compensation to a telephone repairer for her tenosynovitis, an inflammation caused by the almost continuous manipulation of her hands. The harsh ruling decreed that Brenda Gillman's cumulative trauma was not covered under workman's compensation because "repeated, work-related trauma is an ordinary disease of life." According to the court, an ordinary disease is one that "the general public is exposed to outside of the employment." In other words, tennis-playing lawyers can find themselves in as much pain as Gillman.

Virginia's narrow ruling will probably affect up to 20 percent of the more than 100,000 work-related injury cases filed in the state last year, according to Charles James of the state Industrial Commission. In many of the larger companies, some of the slack will be taken up by health insurance. But most small businesses have no policies, and employees in them have relied on worker's compensation for their chronic work-related problems.

Even with health insurance, injured workers will receive no temporary disability payments when their injuries leave them unable to work.

"We have spent the last several years alerting the people we work with that problems they have—the



Cornell University's most visible reminder of South African apartheid—a shantytown constructed by students and faculty—has been threatened by university bulldozers several times in the past few weeks. The divestment demonstrators at the shantytown were visited by hundreds of alumni during Alumni Weekend June 15 and 16, after refusing to accept the university's offer of a tent to replace the concrete and wood structures. Anti-apartheid demonstrations continue almost daily at Cornell, where a large contingent of faculty and graduate students ensure visibility during the summer break.

Embargo news: Nicaragua's most widely read newspaper, *El Nuevo Diario*, received hundreds of dollars worth of office supplies from the Latin American Solidarity Committee in Ann Arbor, Mich., last week. The committee considers itself the first to openly break Reagan's em-

bargo by sending supplies that won't be used for "development" or "humanitarian aid"—two categories still allowed under the embargo. Embargo violations are punishable by a fine of up to \$50,000 and 10 years of imprisonment. In a symbolic gesture, the Burlington, Vt., board of aldermen voted in favor

of a resolution encouraging "expanded travel, trade and other peaceful contacts" between Nicaragua and the people of Burlington. And New Haven, Conn., passed a symbolic resolution last week that would make the city an "embargo free" zone and open to trade with Nicaragua.

carpal tunnel syndrome, the epicondylitis, the tendinitis—is not just "tension" or arthritis brought on by age but is caused by their jobs," said Sister Imelda Mauer, who works with women at a Hanes clothing factory. "Now they're being told once again that it's just a common disease." Though the ruling is not supposed to affect retroactively those already receiving disability checks for past trauma, there have been reports of those with intermittent trauma being taken off the disability rolls.

The sisters meet Goliath

For the past few years, Exxon has had blueprints for a large underground copper and zinc mine gathering dust in its corporate headquarters. All that lies between Exxon and the proposed site at the headwaters of the Wolf River in Wisconsin are members of the Sokaogon Chippewa tribe and an even smaller group of Roman Catholic nuns. The Chippewas, who have gathered wild rice for centuries, are fighting to maintain their wild rice lake that lies just one mile from the proposed mine site. The rice is an essential part of their diet, an important cash crop and a sacred symbol in Chippewa religious ritual.

If Exxon proceeds with its mining plans, large volumes of sulfide-bearing wastes will be stored in waste ponds 90 feet deep and encompassing 600 acres. Says Chippewa tribal chairman Arlan Ackley, "If Exxon's engineering is not 100 percent perfect, the pollutants from the mine will ruin our wild rice lake. Exxon can move on when they've taken the ore out, but we have nowhere else to do." Exxon's environmental impact statement did not take the Indian concern seriously, blandly mentioning that the "means of subsistence on the reservation" may be "rendered less than effective."

Since it was clear that Exxon had turned a deaf ear to their concerns, the Sinsinawa Dominican Sisters have been going to bat for the Indians for the last few years. The sisters have a little more clout than the Indians: they own Exxon stock and have made a plea at stockholders meetings that the Indian life not be disregarded in pursuit of profit. Last month they travelled to Los Angeles to confront Exxon at the annual stockholders meeting. The sisters needed 5 percent of the vote to keep the issue on next year's agenda, but they managed to gain only 3.3 percent (an increase over last year's vote from 16 million to 18 million shares).

Exxon management was especially relieved: the mining division has come under criticism lately for other botched operations which have led to \$430 million losses in the last few years. The vote has thrown the Indians and the nuns back to square one, looking for a new angle to take on the corporate giant.

Maybe next year?

June is the month for ritualistic passages to adulthood: graduations, weddings and—in some social circles—debutante balls. In Chicago, social graces go hand in hand with nationalism at the Israel War Bond Ball, an annual affair to raise more money for Israel's military. This year's special guest Israeli Minister of Defense Yitzak Rabin drew a large crowd as expected. But it was debutante Janice Binder who gave the audience something to remember.

The 20-year-old Binder was picked to be a deb because her father buys a lot of Israeli war bonds. After picking her to be a deb, the organizers of the ball wind that Binder might prove to be a problem. She insisted on telling Rabin what she thought of Israel's military involvement in Central America. At her private "presentation" to him, Rabin said he had heard that she "had a problem with Central America." He went on to assure Binder that Israel was not involved in Central America—"maybe we were a few years ago, but we're not now."

But as a volunteer for the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, Binder has researched the status of Israeli funds and advisers to Central American dictatorships (including supplying Guatemala with Uzi machine guns, Galil rifles, trucks, helicopters and military advisers) and was not so easily derailed. During the formal ceremony for a public greeting of Rabin, she pulled from her gown sleeve a banner demanding "Israel out of Guatemala." After the playing of the U.S. and Israeli national anthems, she was asked to leave via the kitchen door. Binder refused. She would rather be escorted out as befits a debutante. A swarm of bodyguards complied, surrounding and hustling her through the crowd. But not before she got off a few yelled explanations to curious members of the audience. Binder reports that she was thereafter "disinvited" to the Ambassador Ball—the ultimate ball where debbs are presented to "society" at large.

This week's contributors: Alan Hornblum, Al Gedick

By Alex Charns

WINSTON-SALEM, NC

"I CAN'T SEE HOW I WAS PICKED OUT and found liable," 66-year-old Edward Dawson told *In These Times* after a federal jury here found him, along with two police officers, three Ku Klux Klan and two Nazi defendants, liable in the shooting death of Dr. Michael Nathan at the Nov. 3, 1979, "Death to the Klan" rally in Greensboro.

Dawson, the police informant who drove in the lead car of the Klan-Nazi caravan and had recruited Klansmen to confront marchers, explained that he was sitting at his kitchen table working on his own legal motion to throw out the \$355,100 verdict. He still puzzled over why he was found liable for the death of Nathan since, unlike the five other Klan and Nazi defendants, he had not fired a shot, and the jury had not found him or any of the other 47 defendants guilty of conspiring to violate the civil rights of demonstrators.

While Dawson was pondering the jury's decision, the plaintiffs were trying to figure out why no one was held responsible for the death of four other Communist Workers Party (CWP) members and the five demonstrators who were injured during the 88 seconds of gunfire. The jury did award \$38,359 to Dr. Paul Bermanzohn who was shot in the head and is paralyzed, and \$1,500 to Thomas Clark who was wounded with birdshot.

The jury's June 8 verdict came five and a half years, three trials and two acquittals after five Communist demonstrators were shot to death by Ku Klux Klansmen and American Nazis at the predominantly black housing project of Morningside Homes. All-white juries in state and federal court found Klan and Nazi defendants not guilty of murder in 1980 and not guilty of civil rights violations in 1984. The jury's verdict this month was the first time anyone was found legally responsible.

The \$48 million Greensboro civil rights suit filed in 1980 originally claimed that 100 named and unnamed defendants conspired to assassinate the "Communist Worker Party Five." Far-flung allegations included high-level officials of federal, state and local governments.

Two years later the conspiracy to assassinate charge was deleted and amended to read: "A plan was formed and mutually agreed upon by Klan and Nazi defendants and agents of the Greensboro police department, BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) and FBI...by which an attack on the plaintiffs...would be made, the police defendants would not provide protection from the attack." Allegations of a conspiracy to cover-up were also added.

The findings.

In the end, the jury found eight men liable for causing one death by a wrongful act and four were held responsible for assaulting three demonstrators. The \$355,100 award for the death of Dr. Michael Nathan was assessed against Greensboro police Sgt. P.W. Spoon, Detective Jerry Cooper, former police informant Edward Dawson and Klan-Nazi defendants David Wayne Matthews, Jerry Paul Smith, Roland Wayne Wood, Jack Wilson Fowler Jr. and Mark Sherer.

The jury found that the plaintiffs failed to prove that the Greensboro police, police informant Edward Dawson, BATF undercover agent Bernard Butkovich (who infiltrated the Nazis) and FBI supervisor Andrew Pelczar conspired to violate the demonstrators' civil rights. The city and individual officers were not found liable for knowingly or recklessly failing to provide protection for demonstrators or knowingly or recklessly failing to train officers or supervise informants. The jury also refused to find that police and federal agents conspired to deprive demonstrators of their civil rights by knowingly or negligently failing to provide protection.

While police informant Dawson drove in the lead car of the Klan-Nazi caravan on the morning of the rally, Detective J.H. Cooper, Dawson's control agent, followed



NORTH CAROLINA

CWP civil rights suit ends in limited verdict

in an unmarked car, taking pictures as demonstrators hit the cars with sticks and a fight broke out. No uniformed officers were on the scene when the gunfire began. Sgt. P.W. Spoon was in charge of police protection for the march and carried out the department's plan to keep a "low profile" at the rally. Police contended that their absence was due to the CWP misleading them about the rally's starting time—noon—which was listed on the parade permit. They also said that they did not expect violence, even though Dawson had phoned Detective Cooper twice on the morning of the rally and warned him that the Klan was armed. Press reports and CWP posters listed a 11:00 a.m. starting time. The shooting began at 11:23 a.m.

Bernard Butkovich, the BATF undercover agent who posed as a Winston-Salem Nazi in the months prior to the rally, emerged not liable either for conspiracy or for failing to protect demonstrators. His original mission was to investigate firearms violations, including allegations that a Nazi member had a submachine gun. Butkovich attended a Klan-Nazi planning meeting two days before the rally and heard a Klansman say that he had tested pipe bombs that "would work good thrown in a crowd of niggers," though Butkovich did not understand this to mean that it was to be done

at the anti-Klan rally.

Why did the jury find for only one of the four demonstrators killed? Defense lawyers speculated that Nathan was the only one of the five killed who had not fired a weapon and had not been near a demonstrator with a gun. Dr. Martha Nathan, widow of Dr. Michael Nathan, told *In These Times* that a "combination of anti-Communism, racism and concern about ruling against the right to self-defense caused the limited verdict." "They [the

1980 and 1984 rulings found Klan and Nazi defendants not guilty. The jury's verdict this month is the first time anyone was found legally responsible.

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 26-JULY 9, 1985 5 jury] understood there was something wrong...but there is no way to get two police officers and Dawson without a conspiracy."

Due to a permanent protective order entered by U.S. District Judge Robert R. Merhige Jr., sealing the names of the jury made up of four women and two men—including one black who had once been jailed in a civil rights demonstration in the early '60s—the reasons for their decision may never be understood.

While the plaintiffs were disappointed in the narrow findings and low money damages set, getting a favorable verdict was a major feat considering the legal and financial obstacles involved in federal court litigation. One plaintiff estimated that \$600,000 was expended to prosecute their claims. Even tougher was getting the jury to empathize with plaintiffs who espoused violent revolution and who had taunted the Klan with bellicose rhetoric.

Internal CWP documents introduced into evidence by the defendants proclaimed the rally's objective was "to engage the Klan without getting into a military confrontation with the state.... We thought this would draw the Klan out and we could smash them."

Emboldened by an earlier confrontation with the Klan, the CWP challenged them to show up at the rally to face the "wrath of the people." One CWP leader testified that he had discussed with a friend the pros and cons of "facilitating a national crisis" that the CWP could use to its advantage. Evidence like this led defense lawyers to argue that the CWP conspired to incite unrest in the black community with the ultimate goal of overthrowing the government.

What has changed since Nov. 3, 1979? The Greensboro police reportedly adopted new internal procedures after the killings, but it's unlikely those changes represent adequate control over informants. The jury heard veiled references to informant 007 (revealed for the first time publicly as Mary Jo Miller in *In These Times*, March 20) who worked for the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation prior to the killings. The jury never learned that after the killings, Miller, working for the Greensboro police and the SBI, infiltrated the CWP. Nor did they hear that in 1981 she pleaded guilty along with eight others, including CWP supporters, to damaging property in exchange for a dismissal of conspiracy to firebomb charges after Klansmen and Nazis were acquitted of murder in 1980. Those close to the CWP have called Miller an agent-provocateur.

The public face of the CWP in North Carolina has changed in some ways over the past five and a half years. It has toned down its rhetoric, at least in public, and works to increase its ranks by working in coalition with progressive community groups rather than by direct confrontation with supremacist groups.

And the state's Ku Klux Klan, whose ideology is indistinguishable from that of the Nazis, remains one of the most active in the U.S., according to Klan monitoring groups. In early June three people were arrested on firearms charges during a Klan rally in the mountain town Forest City, N.C. Large Klan rallies were held in the state capital of Raleigh earlier this year.

But the last legal word on the Greensboro massacre is not in yet. Several Klan defendants filed counterclaims against the CWP alleging that anti-Klan demonstrators violated their constitutional rights by luring them to Greensboro in an attempt to kill them. These claims are still pending, along with another lawsuit by the plaintiffs against federal agents and a police officer who were not joined for trial due to procedural reasons. Appeals by the two police officers found liable are imminent since the city's insurance carrier would be forced to pay the judgment.

Even after the third trial, the controversy will continue. Like the Rosenbergs and Hiss cases, the debate will linger about whether justice was done, whether all the facts were presented and what the verdict means.

Alex Charns is a Durham, N.C., lawyer and freelance journalist.

By Salim Muwakkil

AS VARIOUS "WHITE HOPES" BEGIN positioning themselves to challenge Mayor Harold Washington in 1987, it appears the strategy of racial polarization will again play an important part in the campaign.

This was made clear in a recent City Council battle over how to spend \$126.7 million in federal Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds. The money, distributed under auspices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), is an entitlement program federally mandated for use in low- and moderate-income areas. Several human service agencies of proven effectiveness depend heavily on these funds to assist needy Chicagoans. But since a disproportionate number of those in need are black and Hispanic, and residents of wards that are strongly pro-Washington, the majority bloc of 29 anti-administration aldermen—led by probable mayoral candidate Edward Vrdolyak—are trying to cut the funding of the agencies that serve them.

This group of 28 white and one Hispanic aldermen proposed and passed an ordinance shifting CDBG money away from low- and moderate-income Chicagoans and earmarked it for patronage jobs in their own wards in open defiance of HUD guidelines. The ordinance also gave the majority bloc authority to control and monitor contracts of all the delegate agencies.

What's more, the "Vrdolyak 29" bypassed the six-month selection period in which the mayor's staff and the Community Development Advisory Committee (a group of 45 distinguished citizens who have been overseeing these grants since 1979) reviewed various proposals for the funds, waiting until just days before the June 1 deadline to ram their ordinance through the City Council. Many of the agencies the majority bloc selected to receive CDBG money were created only a few weeks before being deemed eligible.

CHICAGO

Washington's enemies gut programs for city's needy

Washington vetoed the ordinance, saying, "Money has been slashed from important programs which meet eligibility criteria established by ordinance and federal guidelines, only to be funneled helter-skelter to competing aldermen, with no policy in mind." He charged that the aldermen were playing politics with poor people's survival.

"The Vrdolyak faction is playing politics pure and simple," said Clarence Page, editorial writer and columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*. "It's a crude, crass politics, strictly from the 'where's mine' school. Vrdolyak himself is stepping up his personal efforts to increase his visibility and elevate his own stature to the national level. He's trying to counter the appeal Washington has for the new urban liberal with his appeals to the new urban blue-collar conservative. He wants to bill himself as The white ethnic Democrat."

Astute politician that he is, Vrdolyak realizes that it has become fashionable to trash black aspirations in the name of rebuilding the Democratic Party. But, crude power-broker that he also is, the 47-year-old alderman has yet to figure out how to do this without exposing his venality.

By tampering with the CDBG proposal, the Vrdolyak faction has forced the city to miss the deadline set by HUD, and scores of social service agencies will face severe cash flow problems and possible cutbacks in staff because of the delay. William Todhunter, an official of the city's Department of Human Services, said about 100 delegate agencies "could be impacted if the funds are not approved by July 1. They would lose \$13,000 a day and their services

would be greatly curtailed, even eliminated." He said the agencies most adversely affected would be programs for the arts, for adolescent substance abuse, for the handicapped, job training and public health centers and housing rehabilitation efforts.

In Eleanor Elam's opinion, the majority bloc's tactic is "plain obstructionism." Elam, vice president of the League of Women Voters of Chicago, has been a member of the advisory committee since its inception in '79. She said Washington was the first mayor to give proper consideration to the recommendations of the committee. "Mayors Daley, Bilandic and Byrne had their own ideas what to do with CDBG funds, and Byrne was chastised by HUD for incorrectly spending the money." She said the anti-administration aldermen's attempt to redirect the funds to patronage jobs was "reprehensible and disgusting. They waited until the very last minute to make their proposals, ignoring all of the work put into the selection process. Most of the groups selected for funds have admirable records of helping this city's needy. I can't believe that the majority bloc really thinks their front organizations are eligible. It's sad, very sad."

Far from being shamed by this flagrantly unprincipled maneuver, Vrdolyak and his 28 minions are sticking to their guns. Taking their cue from the Reagan administration's policy of racial retrenchment and the national polls that reveal considerable white resentment of affirmative action, they are casting the CDBG struggle as a political fight between pro- and anti-affirmative action forces.

"Out of nearly \$127 million, we're only

asking for about 10 percent," Vrdolyak said in response to questions about the propriety of his group's actions. "Is that too much to ask for the people who pay most of the taxes?"

Alton Miller, Washington's press secretary, warned that if the ordinance is not hammered out and submitted in time for HUD's July 1 deadline, the funds would be lost to all council factions. But HUD spokesman Adolph Slaughter said the funds belong to Chicago, and that the agency will do all it can to ensure the city receives the money.

Those familiar with the CDBG review process doubt that HUD would deny the funds even if the "29" were successful in adding their front groups to the proposal. "The HUD review is anything but stringent," said Ben Joravsky, a writer for the *Chicago Reporter* and a keen observer of Chicago politics. "And anyway, there's a large gray area of interpretation on how low- and moderate-income people can be serviced by delegate agencies. There's no question that the majority bloc are playing politics with this, but there is a certain legitimacy to some of their proposals."

Washington disagrees. In transferring the funds to street resurfacing and sidewalk repair, the majority bloc is in direct violation of bond issues, he charged. "The tragic part of this is that everyone would win if the council would pass the bond issue and the community development funds together." The mayor proposed a general obligation bond issue 19 months ago that targeted \$110 million for infrastructure improvements and the council has failed to act on the proposal.

"If they would only act responsibly we could keep our community development money for programs that help the less fortunate and still have money for street repairs in every ward of the city," Washington said. "The proper place for infrastructure improvements is in a bond issue, which would cost only \$3 per homeowner in the first two years—not in the community development budget which should serve the most needy areas."

An Ode to Summer
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By Michael Hoyt

NEW YORK

BEFORE MIDNIGHT ON JUNE 1, IN A lounge at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Park Avenue, the three-piece band packed up and left two hours early. This was the quiet beginning to the hotel strike here. By the next day, thousands of maids, waiters and busboys were marching and chanting, and 45 Manhattan hotels had pickets outside.

For a union that has not faced a strike for 46 years, the hotel workers looked spirited and disciplined, and they were getting cooperation from Teamsters, musicians and some of the city's cab drivers. By June 14 they were still banging pots outside places like the New York Hilton as negotiations continued.

But the hotel owners also seem determined, particularly the chain owners like Hilton, Sheraton and Westin, which runs the posh Plaza Hotel on Central Park South. From the union's point of view, chain owners are dissolving a tradition of relatively steady labor peace all around the country. Indeed, the strike in New York is one of a series of confrontations in recent years for the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union—a 28-day strike in San Francisco in 1980, a militant near-strike in Boston in 1982 and a tough three-month strike in Las Vegas last year.

Hotel workers in New York may have the strongest union of all. The Hotel and Motel Trades Council, a nine-union coalition dominated by Local 6 of the Hotel Employees union, speaks for some 25,000 people. Since the '30s, it has represented all but a few hundred of the eligible hotel workers in the city.

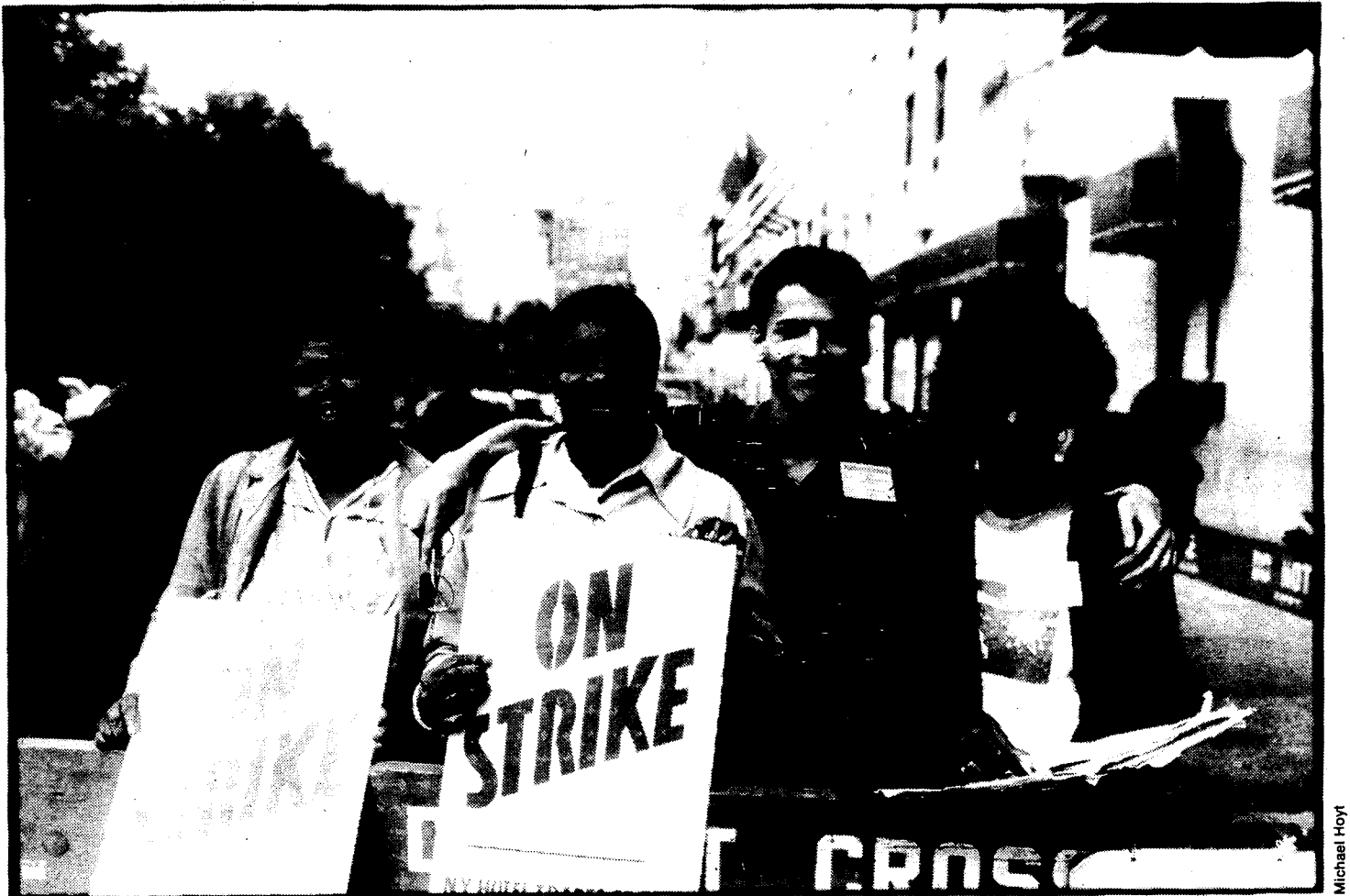
"We have free medical care through our own clinics, we have dental care," said a union official. "We won a pension of \$250 a month. Wages have moved up—even our dishwashers get \$285 a week." The average union salary is \$315.

But more than a year ago the Hotel Association of New York, representing 82 hotels, began telling the union that concessions would be necessary in 1985. High on the list of employer demands is a two-tier wage system that would start new hires at 60 percent of the pay of current workers. The owners also want changes in job classifications, a longer probation period, fewer sick days, worker contributions to health and pension plans and the elimination of certain benefits to banquet waiters.

As negotiations wore on, the union agreed to a two-tier settlement that would start employees at 80 percent of full salary, but bring them up to scale in a year. As for salaries, the two sides have come fairly close. The union demands raises of 6.5 percent, 6 percent and 6 percent over a three-year contract. The owners offer three years of 5 percent raises.

The rationale for these cutbacks is increased competition, from hotels in Connecticut, New Jersey and Westchester County. But that logic has holes. Even independent analysts say that the hotel industry in New York shows few signs of fierce competition. "I wouldn't say [New York] is in a boom, but I think it has been a steady, good-performing city," said Granville Gargiulo, a senior principal in the management advisory services department of Pannell Kerr Forster, the international accounting firm. "Its occupancy rates compare favorably with other major hotel cities [and] rates have improved." Indeed, according to the union, New York's current hotel occupancy rate of 81.7 percent is the highest in the nation, and its average room rates rose by the greatest amount since World War II last year, to \$85.09.

"We think the chains are out to beat us for reasons that go beyond New York City," said a union official who requested anonymity. "The chains have a national interest in the strike. If you are a hotel union in Kansas City or wherever and you are going into negotiations, and in the background is the defeat of the biggest hotel union in the country, then you're in trouble."



Michael Hoyt

NEW YORK

Strongest hotel union in country on strike after 46 years

The hotels may have had other reasons to surmise that their moment had arrived. Vito Pitta, the 59-year-old president of the Hotel and Motel Trades Council and its chief negotiator, was indicted last October, charged with shaking down several midtown restaurants in return for labor peace. A silver-haired widower who was born in Sicily and started out as a busboy at the Plaza, Pitta was listed as an "associate" of the Columbo crime family in New York.

Vita Pitta appears to be running a strong strike. After settling with four hotels, the union added nine to its list, picketing a total of 55 of the city's more visible and larger hotels.

Rudolph Giuliani, an ambitious U.S. attorney, indicted 10 others at the same time, saying they represented the leadership of the Columbo group.

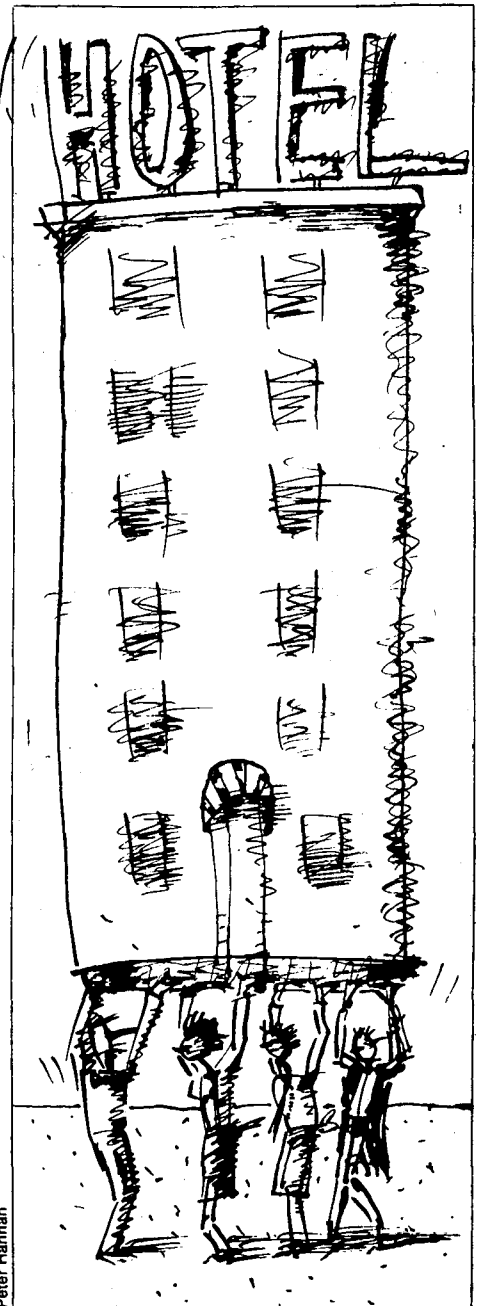
His union does have a troubled reputation. Last year the Senate permanent subcommittee on investigations charged that Local 45 in Atlantic City is controlled by organized crime, and that locals in Las Vegas and San Diego have been influenced in the past by the mob.

But Pitta negotiated a decent contract for the hotel workers in 1981, and his indictment doesn't seem to have diminished his popularity with the rank and file, which is made up largely of blacks and Hispanics, with a high percentage of women. At a mass meeting early in the strike, they chanted "Vito! Vito! Vito!" and mobbed the stage when he tried to leave.

Pitta appears to be running a strong strike. After settling with four hotels, the union added nine to its list, picketing a total of 55 of the city's more visible and larger hotels. (Many of the 165 hotels it has a contract with have agreed to go along with whatever the final settlement is.)

Pickers at the Hilton seemed to make the most noise—a steady rhythmic banging of pots and pans that echoed in the hotel's drive that swings under an overhang off Sixth Avenue. Over at Marriott's Essex House, opposite Central Park, strikers talked about how the issue was not salary, but benefits. "All we have accumulated over the years, they want to take away," said Iva Jackson, who lives in the Bronx. "We'll be here as long as it takes."

How long that is remains an open question. The San Francisco strike put some 5,000 people on the street for nearly a month in 1980, but last year's bitter Las Vegas strike went 13 weeks, with 19,000 workers affected. In Boston, the Hotel Employees union narrowly averted a strike in 1982. Hotel owners set up a hiring hall on a bus line near a minority community and sent letters to union members telling them they'd be replaced if they walked, according to business agent Barbara Rice. But the union set up a picket line, passed out leaflets and worked with ministers and community leaders to make the hiring hall a failure. It then brought hundreds of workers getting



Peter Hannan

off the evening shift to cheer outside the final midnight negotiations, helping to send a signal of strength to the employers.

"There is a definite pattern. The hotels are trying to defeat the union," said Rice. "Our contract is up in November, so we're next. We expect to see a strike and we've begun to prepare for it now, because we think that's what it takes."

Michael Hoyt is a New York-based journalist.



Marcelo Montecino

By Michael Lewin Ross

CONGRESS

Pro-*contra* vote result of back-room deal

WASHINGTON

THE DRAMATIC JUNE 12 VOTE IN the House of Representatives to support aid to the Nicaraguan *contras* resulted from a back-room deal between the White House and moderate and conservative Democrats, who were uneasy with their party's "soft" position on Nicaragua. In a 248-184 vote, 73 Democrats joined 173 Republicans to support \$27 million in non-lethal aid for the *contras*. It was the first time ever the House has endorsed *contra* funding.

The vote came just six weeks after the House defeated, by a two-vote margin, a similar proposal to give the *contras* non-lethal aid (see *In These Times*, May 1). During the April 24 debate, a solid House Democratic majority supported a Democratic alternative sponsored by Michael Barnes (D-MD) and Lee Hamilton (D-IN) to provide \$10 million in humanitarian assistance to Nicaraguan refugees outside the *contra* military camps. The Barnes-Hamilton alternative was defeated on a final vote, however, by a coalition of conservative Republicans who considered it too tepid and liberal Democrats who feared that an eventual compromise with the Republican-controlled Senate would result in direct *contra* assistance.

The unexpected defeat of the Barnes-Hamilton proposal in April upset many moderate and conservative Democrats who felt their party should adopt a more pro-*contra* policy. Freshman Rep. Tommy Robinson (D-AR) said he was persuaded to vote against aid for the *contras* by the Democratic leadership against his better judgment. "I let those guys influence me," he recalled. "I regretted it from the moment I made the vote."

The same night the Barnes-Hamilton bill was defeated a group of Democrats and liberal Republicans—all of whom had supported Barnes-Hamilton—drafted a new bill that was similar to the Republican proposal but embodied elements of the Democratic plan as well. The group was led by Rep. David McCurdy, a 35-year-old conservative Democrat from Oklahoma.

In an interview with *In These Times*, McCurdy noted that Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow had little to do with vote reversal in Congress. "Ortega's visit was a red herring," he admitted. "I'm trying to go to Moscow in October myself."

Reggie Norton, senior associate at the Washington Office on Latin America, agreed. "For most people in Congress, it was a nice excuse. If it hadn't been Ortega's trip, it would have been something else.

These people felt very uncomfortable with their party's position on Central America."

"Congress abhors a vacuum," explained Rep. Bill Alexander (D-AR), fourth-ranking Democrat in the House. "Now Congress is rushing to fill this vacuum with a policy to replace the failure of [the administration's] policy."

The vacuum was neatly filled by McCurdy's proposal, which offered the *contras* \$27 million in "humanitarian" assistance to buy food, medicine, clothing and any equipment or vehicles that cannot be used "to inflict serious bodily harm or death." The money would be administered by any U.S. agency other than the CIA or the Defense Department. It also suspended the Boland Amendment, which has thus far blocked both direct and indirect military support for the *contras*. Finally, the McCurdy proposal allowed the CIA to engage in "information sharing" with the *contras*, enabling the American intelligence network to help direct the war against the Sandinistas.

As a critical part of this "compromise" bill, McCurdy insisted that the White House modify its Nicaragua policy. A deal was struck. For his part, McCurdy promised to push his bill through the House and round up the support of wavering Democrats and Republicans. In return, President Reagan would sign a letter indicating that he did not seek to overthrow the Sandinista government and condemning human rights violations on both sides of the war. The Reagan letter, released the day before the House vote, caused a minor sensation and became a focal point of the congressional debate.

During the interview, McCurdy admitted that the letter expressing Reagan's "new policy" did not originate in the White House. "I drafted the letter myself," he noted. "It was part of our agreement."

When asked how a letter drafted by a Democratic Congressman could represent a new White House policy, McCurdy defended the deal he made with the administration. "The White House made a big concession here. The president caved in on SALT II, he caved in on the MX. He's a pragmatist. This letter strengthened the

moderates in the administration.

Once the McCurdy-Reagan deal was made, opponents of *contra* aid realized they were facing an uphill battle. The House Rules Committee, controlled by Speaker Tip O'Neill, devised a series of parliamentary tactics to block the McCurdy proposal. They prevented McCurdy from sponsoring his own bill, so Republican leader Rep. Robert Michel (R-IL) and Rep. Joseph McDade (R-PA) introduced it instead. Having turned McCurdy's bill into a "Republican" proposal, the Rules Committee then set forth a Democratic alternative providing humanitarian relief for non-*contra* refugees to be sponsored once again by Rep. Lee Hamilton, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

To many observers, the lopsided vote in favor of aid was reminiscent of 1981, when a coalition of Republicans and conservative

"The vote was a watershed," said Reggie Norton. "The next time Reagan wants *contra* aid, the Democrats will find it very difficult to reverse that position again."

Contras at Camp Delta in Nicaragua in May of 1984. The *contras* will receive millions in non-lethal aid from the U.S.

Democrats gained control of the House and pushed President Reagan's tax and budget legislation through Congress.

"The vote was a watershed," said Reggie Norton. "It absolutely demolished the case that we shouldn't give aid to the *contras* because it's illegal. The next time President Reagan wants *contra* aid, the Democrats will find it very difficult to reverse their position again."

The debate over non-lethal *contra* aid fractured the Democratic Party along regional lines. All of the Democrats from South Carolina and Alabama backed the McCurdy-Michel proposal. Oklahoma, Georgia, Louisiana and Florida each had only one Democrat against the bill, and two-thirds of the Texas delegation also supported it.

On the other side, not a single Democrat from New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon or California voted for *contra* aid.

For many Southern Democrats, the grassroots pressure to support some form of *contra* aid was almost impossible to defy. Rep. Ronald Coleman (D-TX) persuaded Southerners to support the McCurdy-Michel bill by passing out the results of a new survey taken in 11 Southern states that showed respondents favoring humanitarian aid to the *contras* by a 62 percent to 22 percent margin. The poll also found 45 percent of the respondents opposed to military aid, while 35 percent favored it.

The McCurdy-Michel Amendment now goes to a House-Senate conference committee, where it will be reconciled with a bill calling for \$38 million to the *contras* in non-lethal aid administered by the CIA and the Defense Department. The House conferees will probably insist that the aid be distributed by an agency other than the CIA or the Pentagon. In exchange for this demand, however, they may have to agree to higher funding levels for *contra* assistance. Conferees hope to have an agreement by the beginning of July.

The next battle for *contra* aid opponents will probably be to renew the Boland Amendment, which prohibits direct or indirect military aid to the *contras*, before it expires in October. The main battlefield will once again be the House, when it considers the FY 1986 Intelligence Authorization Bill. In the past the House Intelligence Committee has been reluctant to support aid to the *contras*. But the momentum in the House is undeniably with the pro-*contra* forces.

Michael Lewin Ross works for a member of Congress.

By William Gasperini

MANAGUA

TWO DAYS AFTER THE HOUSE OF Representatives voted to renew funding for the anti-Sandinista *contras* (see story page 8), Nicaragua's newly ordained cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, returned home to a tumultuous welcome. Central America's first native-born cardinal rode through Managua in a small pickup truck decorated with flowers, waving to wildly cheering supporters from behind a banner reading "hice todo para todos" (everything I have done is for everyone).

The night before the cardinal had said mass in Miami to 5,000 Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles—including two of the principal *contra* leaders, Adolfo Calero of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) and Eden Pastora of the Revolutionary Alliance (AR)—saying, "They, too, are part of my flock." On his return Obando reiterated the Catholic Church's long-standing call for "national reconciliation" or dialog with the *contras*, which Managua rejects, saying it will talk only with the U.S., the rebels' "patrones."

While calling for unity, the cardinal unwittingly embodies polarization among Nicaraguans at this critical stage in the country's history. As the most visible internal opposition figure, the welcome had important political implications in spite of the obvious pride most felt over his ordination. No high-level government official greeted him at the airport, while all along the 10-mile route to his residence, groups in the crowd shouted, "Que se vaya el frente" (the front will go), "Cristianismo si, comunismo no" (Christianity yes, Communism no), and "Que vengan los gringos" (the gringos will come).

"This feels like the start of a new insurrection," said one American TV reporter in the midst of the throng. Later, the government accused right-wing parties and the U.S. embassy of exploiting the cardinal's return for political ends, especially for incidents outside the airport gate, when protesters charged unarmed security police enforcing a church-government agreement that the crowd await the motorcade outside. Foreigners also met with the crowd's wrath, as epithets and some punches flew at several persons observing the spectacle, while journalists covering the event encountered hostile shouts of "tell the truth." Conservatives often identify foreigners and reporters as pro-government "internationalists."

The next day Obando officiated at an open-air mass to fewer than 20,000, which opposition figures themselves admitted was disappointing. For weeks organizers estimated that at least 250,000 would come, and the opposition daily *La Prensa* even ran a countdown of the days "until his eminence arrives," showing Obando's picture on the front page.

"For the airport arrival Obando went to the people, whereas for the mass they had to come to him," said Roger Sanchez, a resident in a neighborhood close to where the mass was held, as talk of a "new insurrection" quickly faded.

The increasingly vocal opposition, however, reflects rising frustration among the general population as Nicaragua prepares to celebrate six years of revolution July 19. The cardinal's return ended a hectic week overshadowed by the House vote.

"More death and suffering for the people," the state radio announced as news of Congress' action reached Nicaragua, although the result had not been unexpected. Official reaction came the next day when President Daniel Ortega announced Nicaragua was withdrawing "peace initiatives" taken in February, including a moratorium on acquiring sophisticated defensive weapons, which by implication can mean Soviet MiG airplanes the Reagan administration has said it "would not tolerate." According to some observers, the action fits a new defiant mood, with less concern for the international impact of decisions made on internal matters.

"What else can they [the Sandinistas] do at this point?" asked one Latin American diplomat. "They have the right to acquire

NICARAGUA

On eve of sixth anniversary Sandinistas face troubled times

what they see as necessary to defend the country. Congress has closed itself off to them. Meanwhile, military exercises continue in Honduras, and now even Costa Rica is arming itself."

The reference was to 17 U.S. advisers who arrived to train civil guards in late May—a move that sharply divided the Costa Rican government. The May 31 border incident, during which two guards were killed and nine wounded after a guard patrol came under fire, whipped feelings into a frenzy with President Luis Monge calling for more U.S. arms "in defense of the patria." Bypassing a Contadora commission to investigate such incidents, Monge called for Organization of American States (OAS) mediation as extremist groups attacked the Nicaraguan embassy in San Jose, Costa Rica, and blew up an electric tower carrying energy to Nicaragua and Honduras.

The border incident occurred as Sandinista army troops swept eastward in an ongoing offensive that has forced them to retreat into Costa Rica, where the ambush

was completely destroyed June 9 in Los Cedros, 250 kilometers north of Managua.

Aside from more money, the congressional vote is sure to boost morale of *contra* forces as evidenced by an announcement in El Salvador of a "unity agreement" between Adolfo Palero, Alfonso Robelo and Arturo Cruz, three *contra* political leaders, the same day as the final House vote.

For the internal opposition the "intransigency" of the Sandinistas has brought on the current situation, including the trade embargo declared May 1. To them, the government now exhibits an unmistakable tilt toward the Eastern bloc in spite of visits by both President Ortega and Vice President Sergio Ramirez to western European nations on recent trips.

As a result of the trips, beginning with Ortega's much-publicized stop in Moscow, the country will receive almost \$400 million in economic aid, mostly for oil, spare parts and other industrial goods affected by the trade cutoff. The impact the Moscow leg had was not lost on the government,

In a dramatic case reflecting economic difficulties but also basic "principles" of the revolution, 2,000 landless peasants marched June 7 in Masaya demanding land. The province just south of Managua is the most densely populated in the country, and as the site of the first major uprising against the Somoza dictatorship has become something of a bellwether for changes in the country.

"The government has said for years the revolution is for the poor *campesinos*, but what have they done for us?" asked a man with a machete in the march. "How can it be for us when we can hardly afford rice anymore?"

Until early this year landless workers in Masaya earned less than \$2 a day, as prices spiralled up fueled by 100 percent inflation. Although wages quadrupled in February—to balance the removal of basic grain subsidies that had kept prices artificially low—most rural workers had to survive much of the year on tiny plots adjacent to large private estates.

But the wages were not the issue, according to the *campesinos*. They wanted land and were tired of hiring out to absentee landholders after endless promises from the government.

In response to the demands and, some say, for securing more rural support, the Agriculture Ministry declared 6,719 *manzanas* (one *manzana* equals 1.72 acres) in Masaya a "special zone" similar to eminent domain laws in the U.S. allowing for expropriation of land to build highways. Any farm over 50 *manzanas* (mzas.) would be susceptible to expropriation, effectively overriding a 1981 law that protects plots up to 500 mzas. if they are "being worked in good faith."

One of the 20 landowners affected by the May 12 decree was Enrique Bolanos, president of the anti-government business association COSEP and the country's best known private businessman. The government expropriated 1,900 mzas. of land on which Bolanos and two brothers produced cotton after they "refused to negotiate under the law as other landowners did," according to Agriculture Minister Jaime Wheelock.

Wheelock was careful to state that the move was not because Bolanos was decapitalizing or that the farm did not produce, but was due to the "inalienable rights of *campesinos* for land" and higher priority on basic grains production over cotton for export.

Bolanos responded by calling to move "an attack against myself and COSEP. They have long been out to get us and my time has come." He said the expropriation may "reflect increasing radicalization" by the Sandinistas.

The government reportedly offered Bolanos twice as much land elsewhere and compensation for 12 tractors, but he denied anyone had contacted him and he refused to accept any land expropriated from others.

"This issue is at the core of the revolution," said one foreign observer. "On the one hand peasants are clamoring for the government to come through with more than promises. On the other, we have the private sector and traditional landlord-tenant relationships. Whose interests have priority?"

The expropriation will undoubtedly not help the Sandinistas' image abroad, especially given repeated claims they offer full guarantees to the private sector under the "mixed economy." At this time, however, the Sandinista government may indeed not worry as much what the world thinks as how to keep the population on its side. ■

William Gasperini is *In These Times'* Nicaragua correspondent.



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega faces growing internal opposition.

took place. Managua claimed ARDE *contras* carried out the attack precisely to worsen relations between the two nations, while Costa Rica blamed the Sandinistas, a charge echoed by the U.S. State Department prior to the formation of the OAS commission.

Managua has long maintained that such a border incident could trigger an outright U.S. intervention—a prospect that is now openly discussed in the U.S. and in Central America.

"Would Mr. Reagan set up all those bases in Honduras or send warships off the coast and continue training troops simply to dismantle it all within a few years?" one foreign observer here asked, mentioning recent *New York Times* articles discussing the feasibility of invasion as a "testing the waters."

In public addresses since the House vote, Ortega has told Nicaraguans to "prepare for the worst," and that the theme of the upcoming anniversary will be "Nicaragua victorious: never surrender." He has said his country is willing to sign the Contadora peace proposals if the U.S. cuts *contra* support and returns to bilateral talks in Manzanillo, suspended in January. The U.S. maintains these offers are "insincere" and intended only to rally international support.

Government troops have also forced FDN *contra* "command task force," long active in the north, to pull back into base camps in Honduras. Fighting continues in the central Zelaya and Boroco regions. The offensives, popular slogans proclaim, are aimed at dealing the "final blow" in 1985.

But that goal may prove elusive, as ambushes of vehicles and economic targets are once again on the rise. In one attack 12 *campesinos* died and their state farm

Ortega said immediately on his return that he had taken the trip to resolve the oil situation and then announced that the Soviets will provide 90 percent of Nicaragua's petroleum needs. Ortega said Nicaragua is unable to meet its \$500 million obligation to Mexico, even under the favorable terms of the San Jose pact, in which Mexico and Venezuela sell various countries oil partly on long-term credit. For its part, Mexico had announced it will continue to sell Nicaragua oil through 1985.

The country desperately needs the aid as the economics situation continues to deteriorate, exacerbated by defense expenditures (40 percent of the budget) and a continuing critical shortage of foreign exchange. Complaints over high prices and low wages are increasing, with more blame directed at the government, despite official pronouncements placing it on the war.

Since the House vote, Ortega has told Nicaraguans to "prepare for the worst," and the anniversary theme is "Nicaragua victorious: never surrender."

By Spyros Draenos

ATHENS

JUNE'S PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS in Greece took on epic, if not cosmic proportions. On both the left and right, people turned out in astounding numbers to hear Andreas Papandreou, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), and Constantine Mitsotakis, leader of the right-wing New Democracy (ND) opposition, during their cross-country campaign tours. Shortly after midnight on election day, as the televised poll count showed PASOK developing a commanding lead, tens of thousands of supporters bearing the party's flag poured into the streets across Greece for a

KKE, Interior Bureau, gaining 1.8 percent and their first-ever parliamentary seat. The reality behind these numbers is that, after 3.5 difficult years in power, PASOK lost only 2 percent of its voting strength (a record in post-war Greek politics). More important, PASOK recovered from its drop to 41.58 percent in the 1984 Euroelections, when protest votes went to the left and the right.

While New Democracy could point to a rise from its 1981 low of 36 percent to 38 percent in 1984 and 47 percent in 1985, most of its 1985 gain came from the precipitous decline of the more right-wing EPEK party. New Democracy clearly failed to convince voters that its newly adopted "liberal" image was real. Instead, it reached

backfired, swinging many undecided voters into PASOK's camp. Finally, ND's questioning of the legality of President Christos Sartzetakis' election by Parliament on March 29 worked against it, since it could not offer a constitutional route for removing Sartzetakis from office. Thus was ND placed in the role of promoting a constitutional crisis. In the aftermath of defeat, Mitsotakis promptly dropped the issue.

What next?

With a clear mandate and a working majority of 161 seats out of 300 what, then, will be the direction of the new PASOK government? Domestic issues—the economy and the creation of a decent level of social services and quality of life—promise to dominate PASOK's agenda, at least for the first three years. On the foreign front, PASOK has now accepted Greece's European Economic Community (EEC) membership and adopted the strategy of "struggle from within" in the context of an expanded North/South division within the EEC. March's EEC summit in Brussels already witnessed a major success for this strategy, with a substantial commitment of new funds from the Community for Integrated Mediterranean Programs.

Greek-U.S. relations are now set for a

racy win, which would have meant domestic instability, making it difficult to "factor" Greece into Washington's geo-political calculations.

Both before and after the elections, Papandreou took pains to dispel impressions created in the Western press that PASOK's foreign policy is governed by a dogmatic anti-Americanism, stressing at the same time Greece's concern over the Turkish threat in the Aegean, NATO's indirect encouragement of it and the continued presence of Turkish occupation troops on the independent Republic of Cyprus. PASOK's victory strengthens Greece's position in dealing with these issues. After the elections, Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal's stance toward Greece, noted an informed Turkish observer, appeared directed more at Washington than at Athens. Özal expects Washington soon to place the ball in his court on these matters. For his part, Papandreou has in hand the military bases agreement he signed with the U.S. in 1983 giving Greece the right to remove the four major and numerous minor American military installations in Greece following formal notification in the fall of 1988.

In the meantime, Papandreou apparently believes that his highly vocal efforts to get Greek positions across in the first term have succeeded and can now be replaced by more business-like efforts to get them satisfied. As for the peace dimension of Greek foreign policy—efforts for a denuclearized Balkans, participation in the Initiative of the Six (with India, Sweden, Mexico, Argentina and Tanzania) for nuclear disarmament, moves to deflate East-West tensions—Papandreou has made it clear that he will persist on these issues.

What then will be the effects of PASOK's new victory on its domestic program? First, the basic priorities presented to Parliament on June 24 will be unchanged. A gradual reduction is planned for inflation (projected at 16 percent this year) to under 10 percent in 1989. This represents a rejection of IMF formulas for rapid reductions in spending—at the expense of workers' real income and increased unemployment. A gradual rise is planned in GDP from the current 2.5 percent annually to 5 percent. Private and public investments in productive industries will be promoted. Institutions for decentralized, democratic economic planning will be formalized. A national health service will be created. And city planning (a novelty in Greece) providing for adequate social services and common-use areas, reorganization and refinancing of viable depressed industries (heavily indebted to the banks due to corrupt lending practices, the development of agricultural cooperatives for processing and marketing of goods and the creation of integrated regional economic units are all in the works. Finally, the gap between urban and rural incomes will be pursued. The banking system will be reformed to make funds available to enterprising new businesses and productivity and quality standards will be revised to make Greek goods competitive abroad.

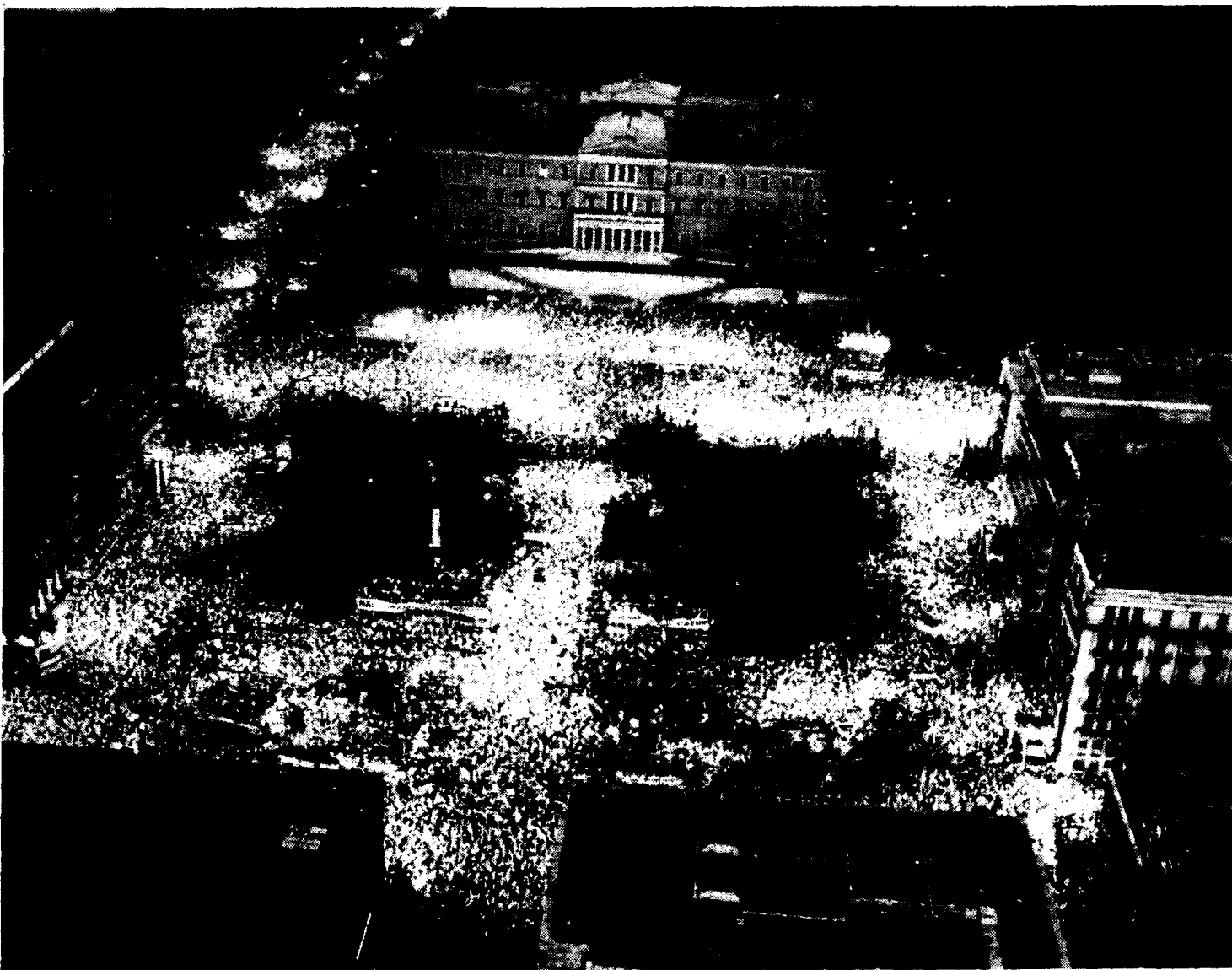
Yet while the basic government program remains unchanged, the line of attack is markedly different. As its opening move, PASOK decided to pursue an ambitious effort of administrative reform, starting with a reorganization of the ministries, to eliminate overlapping jurisdictions and confused lines of responsibility. Arguably the most serious impediment to development of Greek society, the vast, antiquated mechanism of the Greek state has long been a casebook study in administrative over-centralization. Built as a patronage and control mechanism over society, Greece's state is a paradise for anarchist theorists because in Greece the state is the enemy.

Thus PASOK begins its new term of office on a daring, but also potentially hazardous course. Administrative reforms often displace rather than eliminate problems.

Greece is currently living under a "government of 45 days," while legislation for ministerial reorganization is being prepared for Parliament. Around July 15 a new government is scheduled to be sworn in, intended to last the duration of PASOK's second term. ■ *Spyros Draenos is editor of the Greek magazine **Thirty Days**.*

GREECE

PASOK's triumph is double-edged



A view of the PASOK rally in Athens on May 31. People turned out in astounding numbers to hear Papandreou speak.

celebration that lasted until dawn.

PASOK's resounding June 2 victory was a double-edged triumph. It was ND's third defeat with its third leader in four years, after nearly 40 years of almost continuous rule. The party now faces a protracted period of crisis and division, perhaps even dissolution. The election results confirmed the public's commitment to basic changes in Greek society—changes in the direction of modernization, economic development, social welfare and institutional reform. From the day of PASOK's 48 percent to 36 percent win over New Democracy in October 1981, people questioned whether the PASOK government was merely a "parenthesis"—the result of a lucky but passing conjunction of events and forces—or whether it represented a basic shift in the nation's political topography. The June 2 elections confirmed the latter, putting PASOK in the position to tackle with greater confidence, experience and boldness the domestic reforms that it wants to implement.

In percentage terms, the June 2 results appear less dramatic. PASOK drew 46 percent of the vote while the New Democrats got 41 percent, with the orthodox Greek Communist Party (KKE) dropping to under 10 percent and the Eurocommunists, the

limits of its potential voting strength. It's "now or never," announced a headline of a leading right-wing paper on election eve. "Never" seems to have been the answer of the majority of voters.

The results had other ramifications as well. One was the failure of the KKE's strategy of attacking PASOK as a false bearer of change, essentially no different from the right. Another was Constantine Karamanlis' political self-immolation. Karamanlis, the former president of the Republic, and ND founder, was not renominated by PASOK in March. This led to the mobilization of the right's ranks. Yet Karamanlis had been surprisingly silent since his March resignation. Under intense behind-the-scenes pressure from ND, however, he broke that silence during the campaign's final hours. Immediately following PASOK's massively successful Athens rally, he noted in a written statement—in characteristically cryptic language—that the country was headed toward "dangerous internal and external impasses" and was going through "a period of confusion and uncertainty."

But this transparent attempt to use Karamanlis' supposedly Olympian stature to shore up the right on the brink of defeat

PASOK will begin its term on a daring but potentially hazardous course. Administrative reforms often displace rather than eliminate problems.

new round of efforts in the mutual Greek-U.S. desire for "improved cooperation." As in most capitals, the news of PASOK's clear-cut win was greeted with surprise but, in Washington at least, not with disdain. Washington apparently favored the outcome over the two alternative scenarios: a weak PASOK win, which would have raised the specter of cooperation with the Communist Party, or a weak New Democ-

ANC steps up its new strategy of small-scale violent attacks



Pretoria is retaliating with episodes like this car bombing that killed an ANC activist.

By Michael Calabrese

JOHANNESBURG

IN SOUTH AFRICA, A NEWS REPORT without news to report can be quite revealing. Capital Radio, broadcasting from the so-called tribal "homeland" of Tanskei, reported on May 15 that for the first time in three months, four hours passed without an incident of township unrest or police retaliation.

As the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) stated in the first lines of its recent message to the majority in South

Africa: "Events in our country are moving with astonishing speed. The face of the country is changing before our very eyes."

Yet this fact often goes unreported because the Western media tends to focus on seemingly random and dramatic instances of demonstrations and deaths. Thus it skirts a telling trend: that mass action in the townships is pursuing specific objectives and has now spread to almost every area of the country.

One look at the national police blotter reveals the scope of a situation the Soviet news agency *Tass* has characterized as one

of "incipient revolution." The police "situation report," covering just one 12-hour period over the night of May 8, reported 11 incidents of township violence. The incidents included 11 deaths in Tsakane township, in the Transvaal, after youths set fire to a beerhall and the homes of five black police officers.

The targets chosen were a sign that the ANC's strategy for liberation is being acted upon by thousands of blacks in the segregated townships and rural bantustans throughout the country. Bantustans are the nine tribal homelands that the government hopes will accept independence in furtherance of the apartheid ideology of "separate development" of the races.

In its appeal, which is already circulating in pamphlet form within the turmoil-ridden townships, the ANC's National Executive Committee calls on the masses "to obtain arms by whatever means" and to use them to make every black area a "no go area" for the regime's police and soldiers. The statement also calls for an intensification of violence against black police and township administrators who have refused demands by community groups and the ANC that they resign.

In recent weeks several of these so-called "quislings," a derogatory term for black police and other officials who work for the government, have been hacked or burned to death by mobs of angry blacks. Also, their homes are frequently petrol-bombed.

A majority of township council members have already resigned. In 26 townships where the government established elective councils to replace the old Bantu administrative councils staffed by whites, 22 are no longer operating due to resignations and deaths. Although the councils are elected, boycotts generally kept voter turnout below 10 percent.

After the homes of five black police were burned in Tsakane township, all resident police were evacuated. Although the beerhall burning led to a bloody clash between residents and some 1,800 migrant workers who patronized the bar, local youths claimed their motivation was to destroy the primary means by which the township is taxed to pay for the administration of apartheid.

Days later, Tsakane became a demonstration of the ANC's determination to increasingly target sabotage to encourage and defend community mass action. On May 14, just before the start of a funeral

IN THESE TIMES—JUNE 26-JULY 9, 1985 11 in Tsakane for black trade unionist Andries Raditsela, the ANC bombed the police station and courthouse. Raditsela died of head injuries shortly after his release from detention. He was the third individual in a week to die while in police custody. Black trade unions marked his death by calling a national strike.

Other recent attacks by ANC guerrillas operating inside South Africa indicate the group is prepared to retaliate against specific incidents of government repression. Within days after 18,000 striking miners were fired from gold mines operated by the Anglo American Mining Corporation and Anglovaal, an Anglo subsidiary, the ANC claimed responsibility for two midnight explosions that ripped through the empty Johannesburg offices of the two companies.

ANC leaders interviewed recently in Lusaka, Zambia, said that as the black trade union movement grows in membership and militancy, the ANC plans to call for a series of regional and national work stoppages linked to increasingly bolder political demands. Pretoria appears determined to strike back, even against civilian targets in neighboring countries. As this reporter discussed the mounting violence "inside" with a South African exile in Gaborone, Botswana, an explosion rattled the house.

The target, Vernon Nkadameng, was a

ANC leaders have announced plans to call for a series of regional and national work stoppages linked to increasingly bolder political demands.

newlywed exile, the son of the secretary general of the South African Council of Trade Unions (SACTU), the banned labor federation now affiliated with the ANC. Nkadameng's wife had gone inside their apartment while he checked the car, a ritual among South Africa's activists in exile. The police assume that when he turned the ignition he was blown to bits. The powerful bomb extensively damaged adjoining buildings. Down the street a primary school was in session.

It may not have been a coincidence that a SACTU leader was killed the morning of the national work stoppage called to protest the death of union steward Raditsela. ANC activists say such incidents serve the dual purpose of warning the black-ruled host

Continued on page 22

By Dennis Brutus

WHEN I WAS BREAKING stones on Robben Island with other political prisoners more than 20 years ago, a bored young warder asked me how I could be so stupid as to think we could ever defeat the apartheid government.

"How do you know you can never lose?" I asked him.

Quick as a flash came his answer: "America will never allow it."

The mind-set of that young guardian of white domination was typical of white South Africa. It must be severely unsettled by recent events in the U.S. No one could be more startled than the apartheid leaders by the present upsurge of anti-apartheid activity here. They have always believed the U.S. was a reliable ally, a belief confirmed by the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy.

While white South Africa looks for messages of support from the U.S., those who resist apartheid are increasingly encouraged by the repudiation of the system expressed by hundreds of thousands here. To date

Exile praises U.S. protests

more than 3,000 students across the country have been arrested. Even more impressive have been protests at embassies and consulates of the apartheid government. More than 4,000 persons, including such well known personalities as Harry Belafonte, Sen. Lowell Weicker and Stevie Wonder, as well as Amy Carter and the children of Sen. Edward Kennedy and the late Martin Luther King, have been arrested.

Pressure at the congressional level is also mounting. The House and the Senate have each just approved anti-apartheid bills. The House version would ban new U.S. bank loans and computer sales to the South African government, new investments by U.S. companies in their South African operations, imports of kruggerand gold coins into this country and sales of nuclear fuel, equipment and technology to South Africa.

The bill that will finally emerge from conference between the two houses is likely to be weaker than the present House version (passed by 295 to 197 votes), but it will

still be an important additional pressure on the apartheid regime.

It is difficult for Americans to realize the full extent to which resistance in South Africa is influenced by external protests. Such actions considerably energize those challenging the apartheid system from within. Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, spoke of this on a recent visit to the U.S., when thanking the protesters. As a South African currently in exile, I can also attest to this. When I was still in South Africa, I was enormously heartened by all external pressures because they encouraged us in our belief that we had friends and allies outside.

Apartheid is at present facing its stiffest challenge. The brutal response to protest—more than 650 black South Africans have been killed since last August—is evidence of the regime's desperation. The continuing wave of unrest is the most sustained and extensive in the history of the system and shows no signs of faltering. The degree to

which the apartheid system is threatened by the present pressures is shown by the frequency with which it has had to resort to the army in addition to the police to put down unrest. In Sebokeng, a black township near Johannesburg, 7,000 troops were sent in with automatic weapons and the area was surrounded by armored cars and troop-transports. Also, in the troubled Eastern Cape troops have been sent in with no recall date.

Plans have developed for continued action in the U.S. both at the consulates of the Pretoria government and on campuses. There is no sign that the pressures will let up. Continued and intensified pressure may finally lead to the breakup of the brutal apartheid system. It is important for people in the U.S. to realize that by their protests and pressures they can make a significant contribution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Dennis Brutus is a former political prisoner of the South African government, now in exile in the U.S. He has published eight books of poetry, is professor of English at Northwestern University and chairs the Africa Network.



By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE "BULGARIAN CONNECTION" IS unraveling in a way that cannot surprise anyone who has followed the case without prejudice from the start. The chronology has always been highly suggestive. A convicted Turkish fascist assassin, Mehmet Ali Agca, shot and wounded Pope John Paul II in front of Saint Peter's in Rome on May 13, 1981. Almost immediately, a certain number of Western journalists notoriously eager to link Moscow to "international terrorism" began suggesting that Agca had acted for the Soviet bloc. Although Agca's links to the ultra-right Grey Wolves organization were well known to European police, he was hastily tried and sentenced to life imprisonment as a lone assassin. His known Turkish accomplices were ignored.

Agca was locked away in Ascoli Piceno prison, alongside a leading gangster, Raffaele Cutolo, who ran a hunk of the Naples underworld from his cell, and an exceedingly strange criminologist, Dr. Giovanni Senzani, locked up as a Red Brigades chief-

tain. Although a Moslem, Agca was visited regularly by a Catholic chaplain later arrested as a Mafia go-between.

He was also visited by two agents of the scandal-ridden Italian intelligence services. Only after much unspecified coming and going, plus published articles by Claire Sterling accusing the Bulgarians did Agca begin his long and ever-changing "confession" to investigating magistrate Ilario Martella accusing three Bulgarians picked from a photo album (of Bulgarians only) prepared by Italian military intelligence (SISMI).

In autumn 1982 Martelli filed charges against the three Bulgarians picked by Agca and arrested the only one of them still in Italy, Balkan airlines executive Sergei Antonov, who has been glumly watching from his courtroom cage as Agca raves on in the big show trial that opened in Rome last May 27.

Normally, a twice-convicted assassin known as a rightist fanatic who keeps changing his story all the time and proclaims to the court that he is Jesus Christ would not be taken seriously. The whole voluminous indictment against the three Bulgarians rests on nothing more solid than the quicksands of Agca's volatile tes-

timony.

Now, a leading Mafia defector has told the weekly *Espresso* that the former deputy head of SISMI, Pietro Musumeci, got Cutolo to help persuade Agca to testify against the Soviet bloc in return for the promise of a pardon. The racketeer Giovanni Pandico said Agca was coached in prison by SISMI to say the assassination attempt was commissioned by the Bulgarian secret service, presumably on behalf of the Soviet KGB.

This possibility occurred a long time ago to anyone who noticed (1) the odd pattern of Agca's "confessions," constantly readjusted to fit material facts brought to light about the incriminated Bulgarians and (2) the funny coincidence that SISMI officer Musumeci, known to have visited Agca at a crucial moment, was a close associate of all-purpose international agent Francesco Pazienza, in turn a close associate of Michael Ledeen of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), in turn a close journalistic colleague of Claire Sterling, godmother of the "Bulgarian connection."

When the time seems right, go for it.

The "Bulgarian connection" has been taken

seriously as long as it has simply because a network of influential opinion and policymakers have been more determined to use the case as an ideological spearhead than leading media have cared about searching out the truth for themselves.

Rather than wait for the possibly uncertain outcome of the "trial of the century," an influential group of impatient Bulgarian connection fans decided late last year that the "time seemed right" to examine some of the "lessons" of the papal plot and recommend U.S. policy responses *whether or not* Bulgarian and Soviet complicity is proved. Thus last December the CSIS "steering committee on terrorism" chaired by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Robert H. Kupperman issued its report entitled "The International Implications of the Papal Assassination Attempt: A Case of State-Sponsored Terrorism."

This CSIS "steering committee" includes three of the original promoters, not to say inventors, of the "Bulgarian connection," Paul Henze, Marvin Kalb and Arnaud de Borchgrave. According to the *New York Times*, Henze, a Brzezinski aide and former CIA station chief in Turkey, was hired by the *Reader's Digest* to investigate the background of Agca's attack on the Pope.



His findings were incorporated into Claire Sterling's August 1982 *Reader's Digest* article that "broke" the story of Agca's alleged Bulgarian accomplices, a couple of months before investigating magistrate Ilario Martella officially set out on the trail of the Bulgarians. Henze also passed along his reports to *Newsweek*, the *New York Times* and Marvin Kalb's September 1982 NBC television show, "The hand behind the attempt on the Pope's life: Moscow."

In October 1982, Martella flew to the U.S., where he reportedly started his investigation with a special showing of Kalb's TV film and an interview with Arnaud de Borchgrave, who said the French intelligence agency had wind of the plot to kill the Pope.

Gradually, Agca's responses to Martella's interrogation shifted to fit these journalists' theories, which Agca may have read in the newspapers.

Old CIA hands Ray Cline and Richard Helms also took part in the CSIS terrorism group. So did Reagan's arms control negotiator Max Kampelman—especially interesting, in as much as their report stressed the need to put the issue of allegedly Soviet-sponsored international terrorism ahead of arms control, notably on the president's

own list of priorities.

"With the filing of their 1,200-page indictment, Italian judicial authorities have settled certain aspects," the December CSIS report claimed, although it is not clear exactly what it settled. It raised the "possibility the act was orchestrated by the Bulgarian secret service—perhaps with pressure from the Soviet KGB." The Brzezinski-Kupperman-Henze circle (whose discussion was summarized without personal attribution) never bothered to entertain the notion that this "possibility" might turn out not to be true. Instead, among their "options," they wondered what to do if Soviet involvement "cannot be proved." This, it was suggested, would be due to the "prodigious use of disinformation by the Soviet bloc" and by the annoying practice of some newspapers in sending their own improperly informed journalists to check out the story instead of simply accepting what an expert like Claire Sterling had to say.

Yet it was considered "curious" that the Soviets, and especially the Bulgarians, had said little about the papal assassination attempt. The only instance of this "prodigious use of disinformation by the Soviet bloc" actually noted by the CSIS group was the series of investigative articles by Yona Andronov in the Soviet *Literaturnaya Gazeta* implicating Paul Henze himself in the assassination plot through his CIA links to the Turkish far right. This accusation has had very little impact, even on journalists skeptical of the "Bulgarian connection," who do not conclude that if the KGB is innocent, then the CIA must be guilty. The Andronov-Henze exchange of accusations, based on hearsay and supposition, smacks too strongly of a private war between Soviet and American intelligence agencies.

You can fool some of the people all of the time.

The CSIS group agreed that "many people are prepared to believe the worst about the Soviets" and that therefore "large segments of Western public opinion probably do believe that the Soviets somehow were involved in the assassination attempt—whether or not it is proved." But the Brzezinski-Borchgrave-Kampelman clan want to influence the decision-making elite, not just the gullible masses. For, "although the majority of the U.S. public probably has few doubts about the case, in a democratic society there are all types of influences on public opinion and all types of publics having opinions."

Official endorsement of the Bulgarian connection has been inhibited by a "preoccupation with legality," they complained. "A number of participants noted that the most troubling aspects about official U.S. reaction have been internal arguments and skepticism within the government...such a reaction is not politically sound, but, rather, legalistic and narrow-minded."

The "steering committee" concluded that there "should be an organized effort on the part of government to develop as much credibility and access to information about the case as is needed to generate a political attitude.... At the same time the U.S. government should explore means to discour-

age the internal process of imposing more and more skepticism on the Bulgarian (and possibly Soviet) involvement...."

Ten years ago, the CSIS folks mused, there were "people who viewed the nuclear catastrophe as being the greatest danger" and as a result "the situation has turned around to the point where the president perceives the need to be looked upon as someone who wants an agreement."

This is a game of mirrors. Does the president want an arms control agreement? They don't say that, only that he "perceives" a need to look that way. We are in a world of appearances where, perhaps, history can be changed by a new dominant fear image: instead of nuclear war, mysterious Turbo-Bulgarian assassins in the pay of the Kremlin shooting down the Holy Father.

Touring their "options," someone argued that "if restraining ground rules are not established now for what the Soviet Union does in the future, the issue may be settled the way these issues often are—by war. In the end, this may be the only way these rules are established."

Someone else, during discussion of whether the U.S. "should retaliate in kind," asked whether the U.S. "is willing to actually physically (covertly or overtly) attack a country such as Bulgaria in punishment...."

"The group did agree on one point: if the attempted papal assassination does little else, it may help force the U.S. and its allies to consider seriously the myriad moral, political and practical issues involved in a policy of retaliation as a part of a counterterrorism strategy."

Incidentally, Paul Henze has been described by many Turkish writers as the man who has controlled counterterrorism, and with it the series of military coups, in Turkey for the last 25 years. A long investigation by Turkish journalist Mehmet Ali Birand, reported in the Italian weekly *Panorama* last May 26, attributed coups and repression in Turkey to the ultra-secret Counter Guerrilla Organization founded in 1959 and still controlled by Paul Henze, now age 60.

The origin of the secret organization was reportedly a 1959 accord for close collaboration against Arab world turbulence between Turkish intelligence, the Israeli Mossad and the Iranian Savak ("Trident Group"), paired with a Turkish-U.S. agreement to set up a Department of Special Warfare with two tasks: organize armed resistance to Soviet invasion or subversive action in case an anti-American government took office. The instrument was the Counter-Guerrilla Organization. It allegedly cooperated with extreme rightist groups such as the Grey Wolves, which helped Mehmet Ali Agca escape from prison after he was convicted of assassinating liberal editor Abdi Ipekci in 1979.

The truth, according to whomever.

It is extremely difficult to judge what is true in all this. Exposure of intelligence service misdeeds often depends on testimony from unnamed sources. Unnamed sources also manipulate the media by plant-

ing stories that may or may not be true.

The ideological stage for the Bulgarian connection show was already being set a couple of years before Agca shot at the Pope, at the first Jonathan Institute conference on international terrorism held in Jerusalem July 2-5, 1979. George Bush, Ray Cline, Sen. Henry Jackson, Henry Kissinger, Vladimir Bukovsky, Norman Podhoretz, Bayard Rustin, Richard Pipes and George Will were among the many influential participants at this conference, which launched a broad campaign to credit the theory that "international terrorism" is in reality a Soviet-supported war of the "barbarians" against "civilization."

Robert Moss, editor of the private *Foreign Report* newsletter based on "inside tips" from Western intelligence services and published by *The Economist* in London, went farthest in attributing international terrorism to Moscow and in insisting that intelligence services must take over journalistic functions. To skeptical reporters at the journalism conference, Moss replied that it "was perfectly sound journalistic practice for him to refuse to reveal his sources."

"The full extent of Soviet involvement," he argued, "couldn't be ascertained and publicized except by a government intelligence operation with more resources at its disposal than those of a journalist," reported Suzanne Weaver to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The use of unnamed "sources" is Claire Sterling's key method in her 1981 book (an apparent Jonathan spinoff), *The Terror Network* and in her revelations of the Bulgarian connection (although here sheer confusion tends to get the upper hand). It is also the staple art form of Moss' collaborator (on *The Spike* and other fictions) Arnaud de Borchgrave. This is a method that gained tremendous prestige during the Watergate scandals thanks to "Deep Throat." But it is a method that gives a tremendous advantage to officials who claim to possess inside but unverifiable information, and has been leading toward the takeover by intelligence agencies of journalistic functions as advocated by Moss.

The alternative is independent analysis, which does not depend on anonymous disclosures from CIA agents or anyone else.

But the rise of international terrorism provides fresh arguments for strengthening intelligence services and giving them a free hand in covert actions. Some of these arguments were made in and after the Jonathan Institute conference by columnist Will. The institute was named for New York-born Lt. Col. Jonathan Netanyahu, killed in the July 4, 1976, Israeli raid on Entebbe airport in Uganda which, George Will wrote, "demonstrated the usefulness of a policy of 'hot pursuit' in dealing with terrorists." Rapid deployment forces should not be stopped by mere national boundaries.

Moss argued that Article 28 of the revised (1977) Soviet constitution pledging support to "national liberation movements" is a document that "openly defines support for terrorism as a permanent element in Soviet policy" and "should therefore bring down on the Russians' heads the opprobrium deserved by a 'terrorist state.'" Moss added that while it was easy to show Soviet bloc involvement in arming, training and financing Third World movements, a "more challenging problem" was to "prove direct Soviet involvement in the 'tasking' of specific terrorist operations."

The shooting of the Pope in May 1981 provided an opportunity to meet this challenge.

In June 1984, at a second Jonathan Institute conference on terrorism held in Washington, Secretary of State George Shultz said the "Soviet Link" was now "clearly understood." Commenting on the conference, Stephen S. Rosenfeld was able to note that "journalists were passing over the barrier of skepticism" about Moscow involvement in the plot to kill the Pope.

Two months before, on April 3, 1984, President Reagan signed the confidential National Security Decision Directive 138 endorsing the principle of pre-emptive strikes and reprisal raids against terrorists outside the U.S. Could this mean Bulgaria and other Soviet bloc countries? ■

A network of policy-makers are determined to use the case as an ideological spearhead.

EDITORIAL

The terror of having your homeland destroyed leads to the terrorism of the hijackers.



Der Spiegel

Concessions are not terrorism's source

I think terrorism is—I don't know—I can't recall in my life any time when it has been used to such an extent as it is now.

—Ronald Reagan, June 18

At his news conference last week, President Reagan was asked if he thought any of the U.S. policies, past or present, had contributed to the rise of anti-Americanism in the Mideast. As one might expect, his answer was "No, I don't believe we have." And, indeed, in his opening statement Reagan painted the U.S. as innocent, the victim of an attack that is aimed at "all citizens of the world who seek to live free from the fear and scourge of terrorism."

Unable to make sense of the hijacking of TWA flight 847, and of the murder of Navy diver Robert Dean Stethem, Reagan seemed to blame lax security at

the Athens airport for the plane's seizure. In doing so he also took the opportunity gratuitously to attack Greece—probably because it had just re-elected a Socialist government—even though its record on airline security is no worse than any other European nation's. And, of course, the president, like other past and present members of his administration, insisted that "America will never make concessions to terrorists. To do so," he insisted, "would only invite more terrorism."

But terrorism, whether it be hijacking or truck bombs, is not caused by concessions or accommodation. In Lebanon there were no terrorist attacks against Americans before 1982, and no terrorist attacks against Israelis, except by displaced Palestinians. The attacks by Shi'ite Moslems followed Israel's invasion of Lebanon that year and the subsequent arri-

val of American Marines.

Like beauty and fairness, terrorism is in the eye of the beholder. To the Lebanese, the random shelling of Beirut by the 16-inch guns of the battleship *New Jersey*—an attack that killed dozens of civilians—was an act of terrorism just as great, possibly even greater, than the hijacking of flight 847. It is a certainty that acts like that had a lot more to do with the current crisis than any real or imagined softness of lack of resolve on the Reagan administration's part.

As the Lebanese see it, the *Chicago Tribune* commented last week, Israel took "thousands of Shi'ite Moslems hostage in their own country and then, in violation

of the Geneva Convention and international law," transported 1,167 of them into Israel in April. Nabih Berri, Lebanon's justice minister and leader of the Amal Shi'ite militia says the 700 people still in Atlit, an Israeli prison near Haifa, are also hijacking victims. "When the Israelis did it," he says, "they did it like hijacking. No difference if you do that on the ground or in the air."

And although the Reagan administration formally objected to Israel's actions and prisoner policy in Lebanon, it was, in the *Tribune's* words, "a mild protest, almost a wink." Meanwhile, the U.S. has greatly increased military and economic aid to Israel and voted against United Nations resolutions condemning Israel's presence and practices in Lebanon.

The hijacking, like the car and truck bombings that have become an almost daily occurrence in Lebanon, is best understood as an act of desperation by a people who have seen their homeland invaded and destroyed by forces infinitely more powerful than themselves. Faced with the overwhelming military power of Israel, which is sustained and encouraged by the world's most powerful nation, there is little the victims can do other than to strike back randomly through individual, frequently suicidal attacks.

Reagan is correct in saying that terrorism is more pervasive now than at any previous time in his lifetime. But ultimately the blame rests with his administration's policies, and those that preceded him, rather than with the desperate people striking out in reaction to events over which they have little or no control.

In the Mideast, as in Central America, popular movements for self-determination and independence can be frustrated but not destroyed. The Reagan administration, by unvaryingly lining up against these movements, by trying to bring back the days of the "American Century," has managed to guarantee that the terrorism of the oppressed will continue to grow in the months and years ahead. ■

Reagan tax plan: a class act

As has been widely noted, the Reagan tax plan would reduce taxes most sharply for the working poor and the wealthy. What has not been noted, either by the administration or by Congress members, is that under the plan working people at or near the poverty line will still be paying higher federal taxes than they did before 1978, while those with more than \$200,000 annual income will be paying a great deal less.

The amount the working poor will continue to pay varies according to family size, and is least burdensome on larger families. A family of four living at the poverty line paid 4 percent of its income to the federal government in 1978. Under the Reagan plan it will pay 4.9 percent. But an individual earning \$5,700—equal to the poverty line—will pay \$528, almost 9.5 percent. This is \$125 less than the individual would pay under current law, but more than twice what he or she paid in 1978.

This continuing bias against low-income working people is also clear in Reagan's proposal to tax as income the first \$120 a year in fringe benefits—health care, etc.—for individuals (and \$300 for families). The original Treasury plan—"Treasury I"—proposed to tax fringe benefits above a certain amount, rather than below, as in Reagan's proposal. This would have affected more affluent salaried employees who have extensive benefit plans, while leaving most of the working poor unaffected. The Reagan plan, of course, does the reverse.

The nature of the president's tax revolution can also be seen by looking at its sup-

porters and opponents. These divide partly along regional lines because the proposal to eliminate state tax deductibility favors the South and West (California excluded), while punishing the industrial states of the East and Midwest. But they also divide along lines of class, with giant corporations like General Motors, IBM, R.J. Reynolds, Allied Corporation, American Can Company, Pillsbury, Proctor and Gamble and Phillip Morris joining in the Tax Reform Action Coalition, a group that supports the administration plan, and with organized labor sharply critical.

To some commentators' surprise, labor representatives stress the unfairness of eliminating the state and local tax deductions. Testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland argued that the provision will cause most harm to states and localities that "most conscientiously live up to their public responsibilities or that have populations larger, older, poorer or more disadvantaged than average." The general tenor of labor's objections was expressed by Richard W. Cordtz of the Service Employees International Union. He charged that the president's new plan "goes a giant step further in shifting tax burdens onto the backs of low- and middle-income working people."

And, indeed, Kirkland and Cordtz are correct. The president's plan is a thinly-disguised continuation of his long-term project to shift the distribution of income in this country even further away from low- and middle-income working people and toward the super-rich. Once again, the Revolution is betrayed. ■

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LETTERS

'Birth Project' revisited

JUDY CHICAGO DEFINES THE "BIRTH PROJECT" in her chronicle as "participatory art," representing birth as the essential female experience. I was therefore disappointed that Lucy R. Lippard's "Long Labor for the Birth Project" (*ITT*, May 29) did not thoroughly examine this claim.

After reading Chicago's book, I wonder if "The Birth Project" is more reminiscent of the old masters outlining a painting and leaving the students to fill in the background according to specifications than of "participatory art" as feminists use the term.

The 100 works that make up "The Birth Project" represent over 100 needleworkers, many of whom are mothers, volunteering for as long as five years with a mandatory minimum of 10 hours a week to render Chicago's designs and paintings through stitchery. The execution was carefully monitored by Chicago, with section-by-section samples stitched—and many times monotonously restitched—for Chicago's approval.

When there was disagreement—the book candidly admits much—Chicago's opinion prevailed. This conflict between "equal artists" moved one stitcher to plead: "This is a major undertaking for me, and I need a share in its interpretation from paper to fabric. So please do not reject my ideas out of hand. I am emotionally invested in this lady too."

Chicago, however, did not feel she was dealing with equals. She complains that many stitchers did not "see" as artists, or were not as disciplined and committed to excellence as she. Reluctantly she became not only administrator but also teacher.

"The Birth Project" book holds testimonials of challenged, changed, inspired lives. That the massive project spanning the U.S., Canada and New Zealand was completed at all is, as Lippard says, an amazing organizing and administrative achievement. Yet, because Chicago set herself up not only as feminist artist, administrator and facilitator, but also as teacher and creator of democratic art, we expect more.

"The Birth Project" makes us ask if one can create art that meets accepted standards, while democratically and collectively including non-professionals, and still maintain the enthusiasm and discipline necessary, as Chicago says, "Speak clearly about the issues relevant to the people's real lives."

Chicago's chronicle and her subsequent choice to abandon "participatory art" suggests a negative answer.

Anita Alverio
Pittsburg

Fear of success

I FOUND RICHARD GEHR'S REVIEW OF "WE Are the World" (*ITT*, May 2) infuriating and ignorant. A few months back, *ITT* published a review of "Do They Know It's Christmas?" written by Simon Frith. I didn't like that article either, because it seemed inspired by the same smarmy, bite-the-hand-that-feeds-them condescension. But it did make one interesting point: that by portraying the starving Ethiopians as "they," the song establishes a distance between performer/giver and object/receiver that leads to a sort of benign colonialism.

Now that American pop stars have come up with a song that identifies with starving people in Africa, Gehr makes the opposite criticism. Now we are told that "the message of the British single is one of us—the generous guys—against those lacking a social conscience," while the American single is "carefully worded" to avoid any distinctions or oppositions. In this way, "no sides are taken."

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

This is another example of the left's self-devouring principle that nothing fails like success. Just when there is national attention being focused on an issue with so many political and human implications, the whole process is insulted in the name of purity. Simply because the USA for Africa effort has been successful, there must be something wrong with it.

Gehr implies that Lionel Richie's prominence in "We Are the World" is based on a clever marketing decision. Richie wrote the song with Michael Jackson. I don't consider it suspicious that the song's co-author wants to perform and promote it. That indicates that Richie actually cares about world hunger, a conclusion that seems to have eluded Gehr.

Nor does Gehr ever acknowledge the short but incisive analysis of Africa's famine that accompanies the album. This statement clearly places responsibility for the famine on the decisions and actions of governments, a giant step over any other explanation I've seen in the mass media.

David Feld
Oakland, Calif.

Too tame

JOAN WALSH (*ITT*, MAY 22) COVERED what many consider the most significant recent event for the U.S. anti-apartheid movement, Bishop Desmond Tutu's visit to UC Berkeley and his address to an audience of 10,000 has clinched the political legitimacy of the national rallying against apartheid. But Walsh incorrectly concludes that Bishop Tutu's endorsement is among the movement's greatest assets, second only to favorable coverage from the mainstream media.

Tutu's praise of the movement's "dignity" has for Walsh finally lent legitimacy to activity otherwise ridiculed in the style of Trudeau's *Doonesbury*. With some resistance from a "diehard left fringe" of disruptive militants, the "reasonables" are guiding the movement along a path as acceptable to Bishop Tutu as to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. By focusing on the isolated charismatic appeal of Tutu, the media characteristically sidesteps a substantive discussion of the internal political development of the popular parties, unions and movements of the South African majority.

We cannot allow ourselves to be cast as though we were squarely aligned behind Tutu. Through fear of banning regulations, in order to preserve his freedom to travel and address religious and political assemblies, Tutu is obliged to phrase his criticism of Pretoria and his support of divestment obliquely. He cannot, therefore, be the mouthpiece of the South African liberation movement.

Further, Tutu frames the struggle in South Africa in Cold War terms. He has consistently distanced himself from the African National Congress because of the activities of the ANC guerrilla wing. His anti-Communism makes him digestible to many in the U.S. establishment. This is paralleled by Walsh's rejection of "fringe" elements. Senior ANC fellow Fred Dube says, "South Africans have never been oppressed by communism." Anti-communism diverts attention away from the real sources of oppression at home, Dube believes.

Sharon Helsel, Bill Hall
National Student Strike Against Apartheid
Committee, University of California, Santa Cruz

Republicans

JUST WHEN OTHER COMMENTATORS ARE seeing "cracks in the teflon," along comes John Judis (*ITT*, May 22) to tell us about Reagan's leadership and the new Republican majority. I'm more impressed than he is by the congressional opposition to Reagan's budget priorities and his not-so-secret war in Central America, and less impressed by the political conversions of Kent Hance, William Lucas and Ed King.

But let's suppose Judis is right: suppose realignment has occurred and the Republicans are now the majority party. What then follows? The Democrats will increasingly try to sound like Republicans, much as the Republicans tried to sound like Democrats between the '30s and the '70s. I gather, however, that it is precisely the Democrats' willingness to accept cuts in social spending and their emitting hawkish sounds on foreign policy that annoy him. But what else, given his own analysis, does he expect? In the American system, minority parties tend to revolve in the orbit of the majority party. The prospect of a militantly left-wing minority party challenging a conservative majority party is out of the question.

There are, it seems to me, only three plausible ways of interpreting the current political situation. (1) The country is not in any meaningful sense becoming "more Republican." (2) The country is becoming "more Republican," but for pragmatic, short-term reasons largely connected with the economy: with "bad times" the Republican advantage will disappear. (3) The country is becoming "more Republican" for a variety of long-term reasons, none of which can possibly hearten *ITT* readers. For if one takes the realignment scenario seriously, then the mobilization of Southern whites and evangelicals throughout the country become the decisive political events of the recent past, and George Wallace and Jerry Falwell emerge as the prophets of the politics of the 21st century.

William B. Hixson Jr.
East Lansing, Mich.

John Judis replies: My view is that Republican success over the last eight years is based not only on Reagan's political skill but also on (1) the discrediting of liberal Keynesianism, which allowed America's preferred ideology of Lockean liberalism to rise once more to the surface—aided, of course, by conservatives and business lobbyists; (2) the decline in America's world power, which has produced an anxiety about America's future that Republicans and the military lobby were able to exploit; and (3) the continuing fissure between black and white Americans, aggravated as much as eased by the success of the civil rights movement, that revived the Republican Party in the South and among many white ethnics in the North. The Republicans have ridden these trends to a new majority and will continue to do so, in my opinion, until an economic cataclysm of near-depression proportions discredits their economics or an unsuccessful act of military adventurism discredits their foreign policy.

But...

WEARY OF THOSE WHO CHARGE THAT ONE who is critical in any way of the Nicaraguan government is helping imperialism and the CIA. These earnest people truly believe one must say only good things about revolutionary and socialist regimes, or one joins the enemy. To them there is no such animal as fraternal criticism. They learn not.

But (sigh) I sure wish John Judis wouldn't write "Sandinista President Daniel Ortega's ill-timed visit to Moscow..." (*ITT*, May 22). Surely Judis knows that (1) Ortega's visit was planned long before the House vote on \$14 million for the *contras*. (2) On the same trip he visited seven other countries, including some of our Western allies. (3) Leaders of other Latin America nations that do not have left governments visit Moscow and do more business with the Soviet union than Nicaragua does. (4) It's none of our business what country the leader of the sovereign nation of Nicaragua visits, or when.

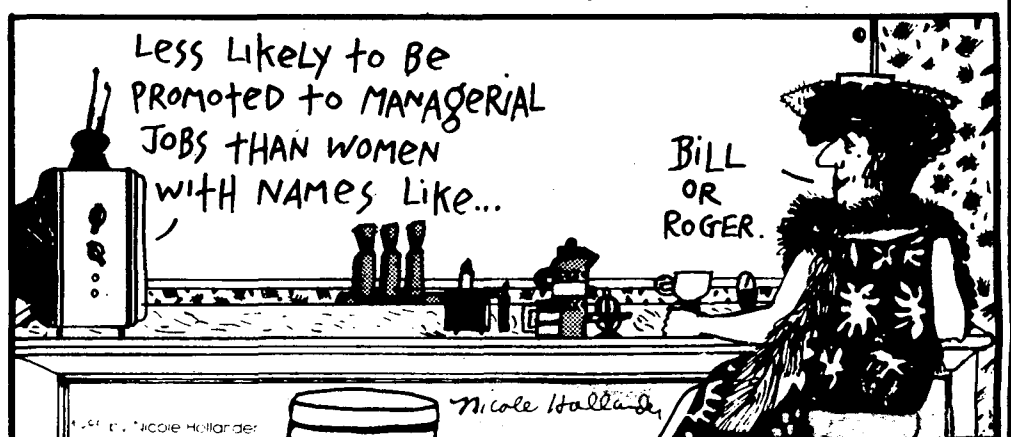
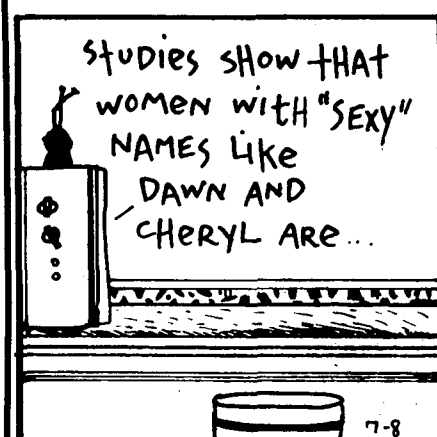
Most likely Judis meant that Ortega's trip was *unluckily* timed after the House turned down Reagan's request for aid to the *contras*. But even that would smack of the old national arrogance. It would mean—gee, if only Ortega wouldn't make the Democratic congressmen sore. As if there were much value to the principles of any congressman who, on the basis of Ortega's perfectly legitimate trip, would change his vote against funding mercenaries to murder teachers, doctors, nurses and farm workers in a country with which we are supposed to be at peace.

Lester Rodney
Torrance, Calif.

John Judis replies: Ortega's visit was ill-timed from his standpoint—unless he wanted to give the U.S. a pretext to fund the contras—and from my standpoint, because I would prefer the U.S. not to intervene. As to whether I have a right to make such points, I'll take my chances at the pearly gates.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



PERSPECTIVES

By Steve Diamond

NON-UNION WORKERS NO longer have the right to the presence of a union representative or fellow employee in a meeting with management. This right, popularly known as *Weingarten* rights after a 1975 U.S. Supreme Court decision, was taken away from non-union workers in a recent decision by the National Labor Relations Board. In *Sears, Roebuck and Co. and International Union of Electrical, Radio*

Okla., Service Center in the later 1970s. Larry Ward, a service technician and a union organizer, was discharged for alleged absentee problems.

During a discussion of these problems with his supervisor, Ward requested the presence of a union representative or a fellow employee as a witness. His supervisor denied the request stating that the company did not have a union and that the matter was "strictly between the company and Ward." After a lengthy discussion of Ward's personnel record, Ward was fired. An administrative law judge

U.S. Supreme Court in *NLRB v. J. Weingarten* (420 U.S. 251 [1975]). The Court argued that such a right extended from the basic provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. The Court pointed in particular to Section 7 of the Act which states that "Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection...." The Court then held that "the action of an employee in seeking to have the assistance of his union representative at a confrontation with his employer clearly falls within the literal wording of Section 7."

In a logical extension of this argument, the NLRB held in 1982 that "the need of unrepresented employees to support each other through this type of conduct may well be greater than that of represented

so because the converse of the rule that forbids individual dealing when a union is present is the rule that, when no union is present, an employer is entirely free to deal with its employees on an individual, group or wholesale basis." The positive role of a union representative or fellow employee in a disciplinary interview is seen by the Board as an "imposition" on the rights of employers. The fundamental basis of the NLRA, originally to offer protection for workers, is now seen as offering protection to the employers.

The impact.

The IUE has not yet decided whether to appeal the Board decision in *Sears* to the federal courts. If the decision stands, though, it could have a chilling effect on union organizing. Instead of allowing union activists inside a workplace to build up an organization that can begin to assist their fellow workers immediately, both to defend them and demonstrate the need for a union to carry out that defense effectively, the pre-election period appears frozen. All potentially disciplinary matters are to be controlled by the employer who is "free" to deal with employees as he so wishes.

Contrary to the argument of the Board, however, havoc may result because of this new situation. Employees will no longer be able to make a gradual transition from the initial steps of "concerted activity" to the full exercise of their collective bargaining rights during a union election and contract negotiations. Under this new situation, grievances could potentially build up without effective resolution, with employee frustration and low morale the result. The "purpose and policy" of the NLRA "to promote the full flow of commerce" may be farther away than ever.

At a minimum the Board's decision in *Sears* reverses the original intent of the Supreme Court in *Weingarten* to achieve a reasonable resolution of conflict between management and workers. The Court noted then: "The representative is present to assist the employee, and he may attempt to clarify the facts or suggest other employees who may have knowledge of them." In a follow-up decision to *Weingarten*, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals noted that "the *Weingarten* rule is designed to protect such 'fearful' or 'inarticulate' employees from inadvertent results of their answers during work-related interviews" (Lennox Industries, 106 LRRM 2607, 2610 [1981]).

In another reversal of an earlier Board decision, the NLRB declared in its Dec. 12, 1984, *Taracorp Industries* case (273 NLRB 54 [1984]) that an employee who is denied *Weingarten* representation and is then fired for just cause is no longer entitled to a "make-whole" remedy, i.e., reinstatement with back pay. The Board contended that such a remedy is "bad policy" and that their reversal "will serve the interests of the entire labor-management community." The pre-Reagan Board had held precisely the opposite in *Kraft Foods* (251 NLRB 598 [1980]). There the Board found that a "make-whole" remedy was appropriate even where management fired an employee for just cause. The current Board still agrees, however, that if an employee can prove that he was fired for exercising his *Weingarten* right and not for just cause that he is entitled to a "make-whole" remedy.

A detailed discussion of the original *Weingarten* decision and follow-up decisions by federal courts is the subject of a pocket-sized pamphlet by Steve Diamond entitled "Hey, the Boss Just Called Me into the Office..." Copies are available from the Labor Center, 2521 Channing Way, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. Single copies are 75¢, 10 or more 50¢ each.

Steve Diamond teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Center for Labor Research and Education.

Non-union workers lose another right

REVERSAL IN LABOR LAW...

NLRB

at Huck

and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO-CLC (274 NLRB 55), the Board held "that *Weingarten* rights are inapplicable where, as in the case before us, there is no certified or recognized union."

Only three years ago the Board had ruled in *Materials Research Corporation* (262 NLRB 1010 [1982]) that such employees did have the right to representation. This most recent decision, issued February 22, is consistent with a general tendency by the Board to "whittle away at the ability of workers to organize," according to Robert Friedman, general counsel for the IUE.

The *Sears* case grew out of a complex set of unfair labor practice charges filed against the corporation by the IUE during an organizing drive at its Oklahoma City,

The National Labor Relations Board reverses Supreme Court protection of organizing.

for the NLRB and then the Board itself sustained the firing.

The right to representation at a meeting with management where discipline may result was originally established by the

employees.... Correcting the relative imbalance between unrepresented employees and their employer is not achieved by forcing an employee to attend a disciplinary interview alone. To counter this imbalance, employees in an unrepresented unit must look to each other for whatever mutual aid or protection they can muster in the face of unjust or arbitrary employer action." (See *Materials Research Corporation*, 110 LRRM 1401, 1405.)

The NLRB's new decision, made by members recently appointed by President Reagan, sidesteps the arguments made in *Materials Research*. They contend, instead, that "when no union is present, the imposition of *Weingarten* rights upon employee interviews wrecks havoc with fundamental provisions of the Act. This is

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Professor of physics, emeritus, Cornell University, and Nobel Laureate. Best known for his work on the hydrogen bomb, he also served on the President's Science Advisory Committee.



Morton Halperin
A political scientist and director of the Center for National Security Studies. He was a member of the National Security Council in the Nixon Administration.



George Ball
Undersecretary of state from 1961 to 1966. He has assumed many diplomatic and advisory roles on strategic and economic matters.



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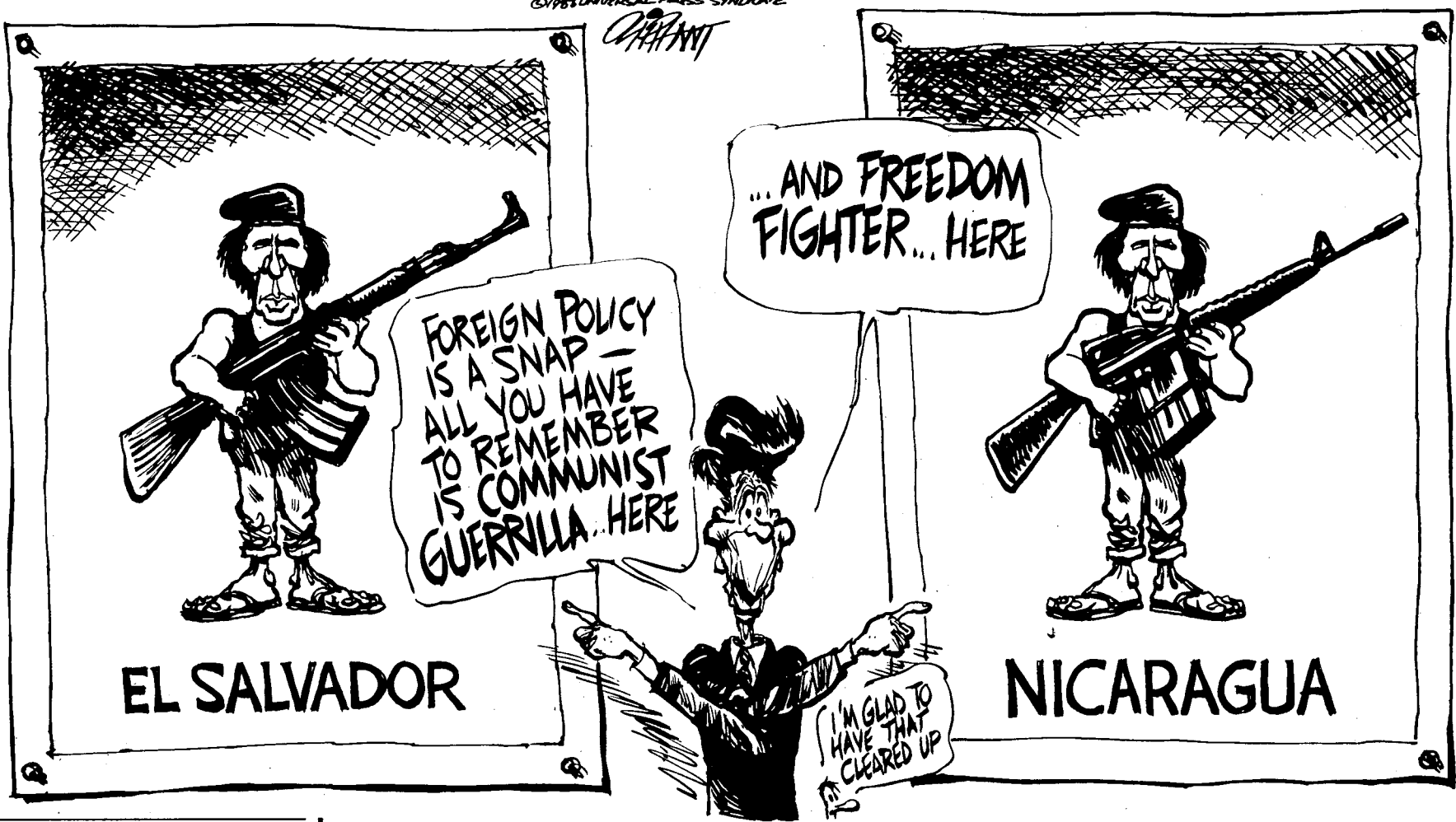
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PERSPECTIVES



By Fred Halliday

THE PUBLIC SUPPORT GIVEN by the Reagan administration to guerrilla resistance forces in Afghanistan and Nicaragua has drawn attention to one of the more bizarre and apparently novel features of the second Cold War—the promotion by the U.S. of guerrillas in campaigns against left-wing and pro-Soviet regimes in the Third World. From the *mujahidin* in Afghanistan and the *contras* of Nicaragua, to the guerrilla coalition in Cambodia, the UNITA forces in Angola and the others in support of the Eritrean opponents of the Ethiopian Derg, it appears that Washington, and in particular the CIA, is now trying to turn against the left the instrument of popular warfare that has proved so successful against the U.S. and its allies in the decades since World War II.

This spate of American backing for guerrillas reflects several shifts in the relationship of the U.S. and its allies to the Third World. First, it reflects a decision by the Reagan administration to hit as hard as it can at Soviet allies, what Reagan terms “proxies,” in the Third World. Instruments other than guerrilla harassment have been used in the same cause: economic pressure and radio campaigns, to name but two, both used to heighten popular discontent in these countries. The use of guerrillas is a calculated move, designed to overextend these regimes and pay the left back for the damage it inflicted by the same tactics in the '60s and '70s.

It reflects at the same time the virtual inability of the U.S. to use military force directly in the Third World. Much as Reagan has tried to exorcise what he disparagingly terms “the Vietnam syndrome,” i.e., the healthy prudence that Vietnam engrained in the American people, he has not as yet been able to win support for direct intervention in Central America. He did use force in Grenada, but this was in military terms a trivial affair: after the much more serious commitment of forces to Lebanon the U.S. was forced into ignominious retreat, abandoning its allies in that country as abjectly as Nixon had abandoned the generals of Saigon.

But the use of guerrillas against Soviet allies is above all a reflection of a deeper phenomenon, one that draws attention to the limits as well as the possibilities of guerrilla warfare. Guerrillas cannot operate in a vacuum—they need some base in

Guerrilla warfare is now being turned against revolutionaries

the population. This reality was one that the counter-insurgency of the '60s sought to obliterate. The reality upon which the current wave of right-wing guerrillas feeds is that of a series of Third World revolutions that came to power in the '70s but that have not yet been able to consolidate their position. It is, in effect, a testimony to the success of left-wing guerrillas in the '70s, coming to power in nearly a dozen countries—from Indochina through the Portuguese colonies of Africa and Zimbabwe to Nicaragua. The purposes of the CIA's policies is to hit these regimes while they are still weak.

The success of left-wing guerrillas in the '70s and the rash of right-wing ones in the '80s should, however, draw attention to the dangers of any generalization about this mode of warfare. First, there is nothing politically specific about guerrilla or “little” war—irregular operations against the state can be used by left or right and have been ever since this practice began in the Napoleonic wars. Nor is the encouragement of anti-Communist guerrillas new: after World War II, Britain and the U.S. sent hundreds of guerrillas on a futile mission into Albania, the CIA trained Tibetan Khampas in the '60s, as well as tribal irregulars in Laos and Vietnam.

Historical perspective also suggests that while guerrillas can triumph, the conditions under which they do so are exacting ones. First, they usually rely on a secure base area, a country that will support them, as Morocco and Tunisia did the FLN in Algeria, and Mozambique did the Zimbabweans. What we have seen in recent weeks are several cases where the host countries are beginning to show signs of strain in connection with their guerrilla guests—the Sudanese with the Eritreans, the Hondurans with the *contras*, the Thais with the Cambodians, even the Pakistanis with the Afghans. How long these hosts will hold out depends on the inducements others, especially the U.S., offer them.

Second, it is most difficult for a guerrilla force to make the transition from military to political activity. It is as if, like an airplane, guerrilla movements stall if they lose momentum. This was evident

in Europe and Asia in the aftermath of World War II—left-wing guerrillas in Greece, Italy, France and Malaya all lost influence in the transition to peacetime politics. The same challenge faces the southern Sudanese SPLA in the aftermath of the coup in Khartoum that has offered them a political space, just as it also confronts the left-wing guerrillas of El Salvador in response to the negotiation offers of President Duarte.

What's needed to win.

Most important, guerrillas can only triumph through a combination of military and political pressure. If the target state will not concede, then it becomes far more

But as the Reagan administration is discovering, it is not a tool that can easily be used to alter regimes. To succeed requires a rare mix of circumstances.

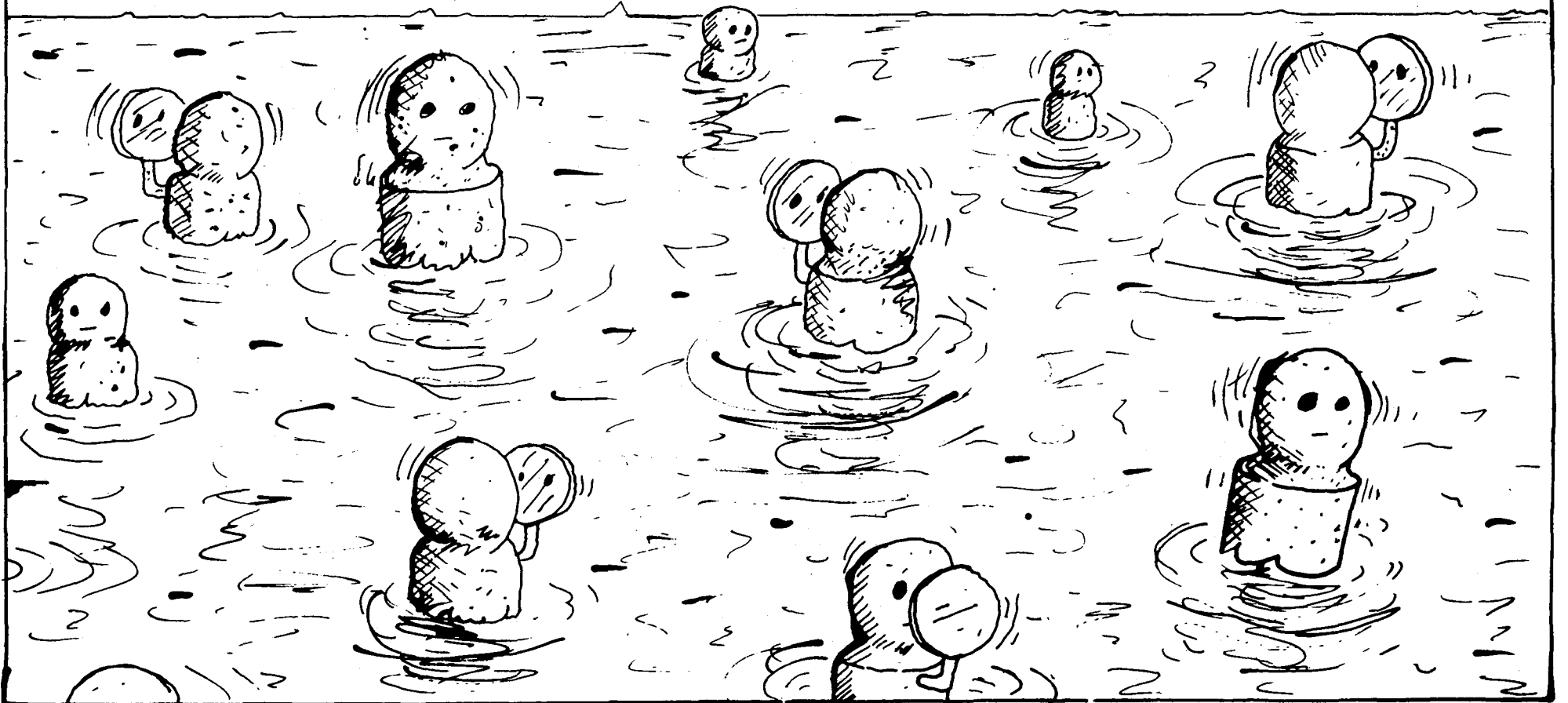
difficult for guerrillas to prevail. It is much easier to use guerrilla pressure against a colonial power, like Portugal, or one that has sent troops from far away, as in Vietnam. Guerrilla warfare has far less chance of success attempting to detach part of a single country through secession—as the Kurds, Eritreans, Baluchis and others have found. By the same token, it stands little chance of success against forces that are prepared for a long, drawn-out war and prepared to pay the political and military price—the Afghan *mujahidin* seem to be learning this lesson.

The range of guerrilla experiences therefore suggest that it is not a tool that can easily be used to alter regimes; guerrilla warfare can succeed only under very specific conditions. The majority of guerrilla movements that have arisen since World War II have failed in their objectives. The impasses into which the Palestinians and Polisario seem to have been driven underline the degree to which such movements face momentous difficulties.

Above all, such a retrospective suggests that generalization and prediction about guerrillas is extremely dangerous. In the mid-'60s, Chalmers Johnson, an American scholar of revolutionary change, wrote a book entitled *People's War—An Autopsy*—just before the spectacular advances of guerrillas in Vietnam and Africa. At the same time Regis Debray wrote his *Revolution in the Revolution?*, an attempt to generalize the lessons of the Cuban revolution for Latin America. It was published two years before the defeat of Guevara in Bolivia. Moreover, lest too much focus be given to today's right-wing guerrillas, it should be noted that those of the left are by no means quiescent—from Guatemala and El Salvador, to Peru and the Philippines, the proponents of people's war are very much alive. It would be rash to predict which variety of guerrilla—those of the left or the right—will ultimately prevail in their current campaigns: what is less rash is the observation of how both forms of guerrilla war, for opposite reasons, continue to be waged in the contemporary Third World. ■

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies.

INPRINT



Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life

By Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler and Steven M. Tipton
University of California Press,
236 pp., \$16.95

By Christopher Lasch

EVER SINCE THE ENLIGHTENMENT, the quarrel between individualists and collectivists has occupied a central place in political debate. Liberalism glorifies the individual and defines the state as a contract by means of which individuals attempt to advance their private interests.

Liberal individualism has invited attacks both from the right and from the left. Conservatives object to its stress on rights, preferring to stress duties and obligations. Socialists and Communists object to "bourgeois subjectivity" on the grounds that it makes the individual theoretically prior to the group, obscures the social dimension of labor and leads in practice to an acquisitive, fiercely competitive way of life and the exploitation of the many by the few.

The liberal counterattack on

socialism, which took shape in the '40s and has become increasingly intense, owes its success to fears that the abolition of private property entails the abolition of privacy in general. The repressive history of actually existing socialism appears to confirm the charge that collectivism leads inexorably to the abolition of the individual and thus reverses the great movement of modern times, which has liberated individuals from traditional constraints and made it possible for them to embark on an exciting, confusing but richly rewarding voyage of self-discovery and personal development.

Denunciation of "privatism" and "subjectivity" do not add up to an effective answer to this kind of argument. The fuller development of the individual is a legitimate social goal.

The trouble with liberalism is not that it holds up an objectionable ideal but that it has no understanding of the conditions under which the ideal of personal development and self-culture can be realized. It assumes that individuals can become fully rational and self-directing only when they are freed from tradition. It sees tradition and freedom, tradition and rationality as opposites. It misses their interdependence, just as it misses the interdependence be-

tween the individual and the community. By weakening the community, liberalism weakens the individual as well.

The debate between individualism and collectivism remains inconclusive because both sides see the problem in the same

book support the contention that our culture produces not an imperial self but a beleaguered, empty and minimal self, one that retains only a tenuous grip on its surroundings and on its own identity. Individualism has grown "cancerous," according to Bellah, not be-

therapeutic perspectives increasingly shape middle-class Americans' attempts to "find meaning in the private sphere," and on people active in local politics, voluntary associations and community organizing. The result is neither random nor a representa-

POLITICS

The search for meaning in a narcissistic age

way. Both sides assume that the problem of modern politics is to balance the claims of the individual against the claims of the community. While this will always be an important issue, it is overshadowed right now by the need to understand why the erosion of the community leads to the moral erosion of individuality as well—an issue that is not addressed by any of the dominant political traditions, whether liberal, conservative or Marxian.

Contemporary politics.

It is because Bellah and his collaborators do address this overriding issue of contemporary politics that *Habits of the Heart* makes an important contribution not only to sociology but to political theory. "What is at issue," they write, "is not simply whether self-contained individuals might withdraw from the public sphere to pursue purely private ends, but whether such individuals are capable of sustaining either a public or a private life."

They reject the idea that "private life and public life are at odds." They argue instead that the "impoverishment of one entails the impoverishment of the other." This perspective distinguishes *Habits of the Heart* from conventional criticism of egotism, self-aggrandizement, self-absorption and what has come to be called "narcissism."

Such labels do not capture the quality of contemporary selfhood. The interviews underlying this

cause it distracts individuals from their social obligations, but because it has eaten away the foundations of individuality itself.

One of the most interesting points to emerge from *Habits of the Heart* is that individualism in its purely economic form no longer seems to command unequivocal enthusiasm. Not that it is dead or discredited by any means. But "expressive individualism" seems more characteristic of our culture, if not necessarily more widespread, than old-fashioned economic individualism.

Most of the subjects interviewed so intensively by the authors, and with such careful attention to their words, have little interest in power or money for their own sake. Some of these people have withdrawn from narrow careerist goals in order to devote more attention to marriage and friendship, while others decided a long time ago to give themselves to various kinds of community service, instead of pursuing more conventional definitions of success.

It can be objected that such people are not representative of our society. The authors interviewed more than 200 people in the course of their research, concentrating on white middle-class Americans on the grounds that middle-class culture dominates American life. They paid particular attention to people in the therapeutic professions, since

tive sample of American society.

But the authors' criticism of individualism gains added force by directing itself against individualism in its more attractive forms, not in the form of unbridled self-assertion or ruthless careerism. The Americans who emerge in such lively detail from the pages of *Habits of the Heart* are not opportunists or unprincipled men and women on the make. On the contrary, they are decent people searching for more enduring satisfactions than those offered by mere money-making. They are hard-working people, to be sure, but they are by no means obsessed with the ambition of outstripping their neighbors or piling up consumer goods. Many of them long to recover some of the inner satisfactions associated with a more stable, rooted and orderly community life.

No public language.

The point of *Habits of the Heart* is not that America is a society of egotists driven by a "passionate and exaggerated love of self," in Tocqueville's words, but that our individualistic culture provides no public language in which to articulate needs that transcend those of individual self-interest. Without such a vocabulary, the will to create a decent common life slowly atrophies, even though the desire for such a life lingers on as a nostalgic and highly idealized memory of a close-knit, homogenous, small-town culture of the past.

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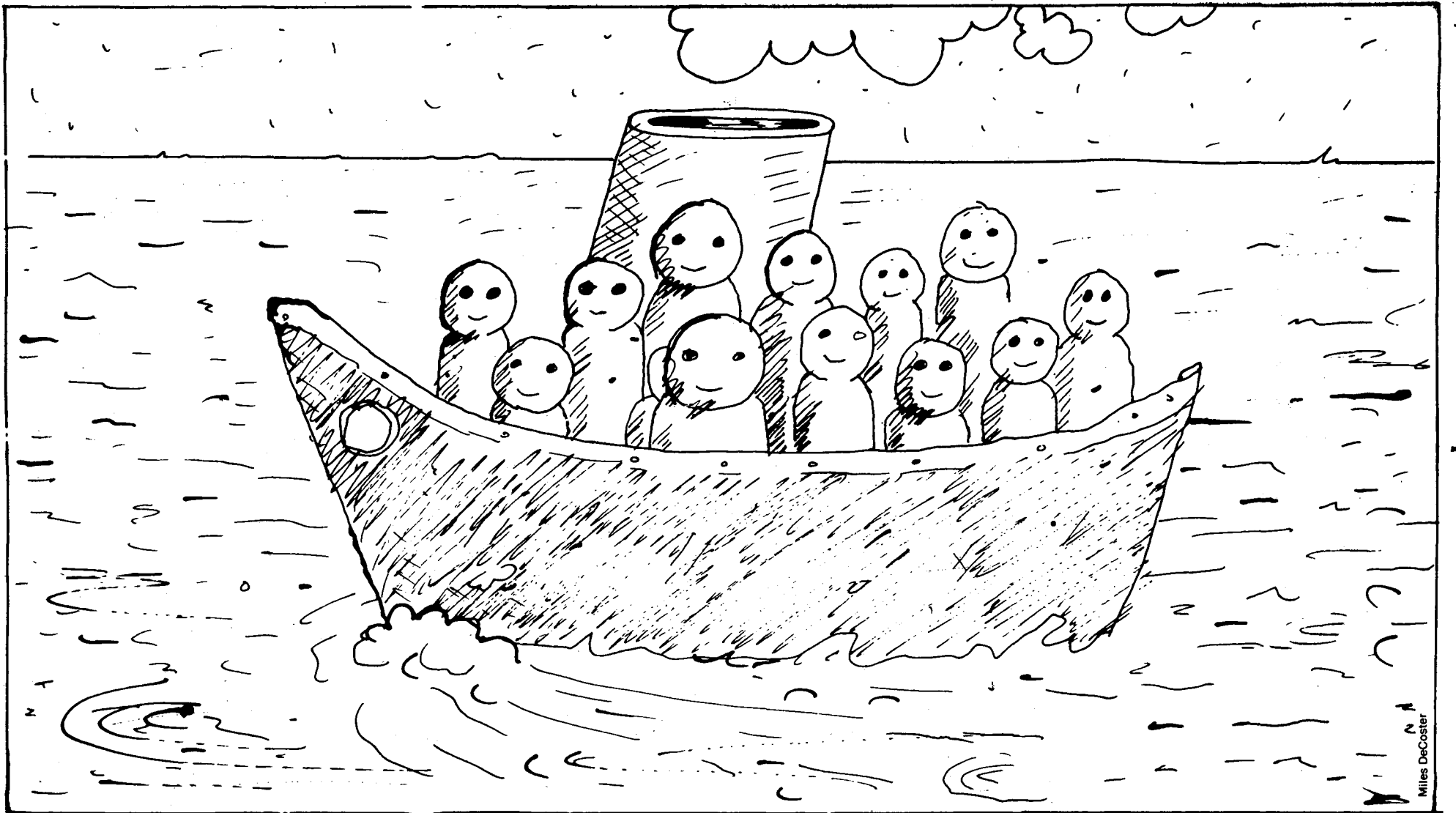
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ISRAEL HORIZONS ISRAEL HORIZONS



Consider a few cases. A Silicon Valley businessman, newly married after his single-minded pursuit of entrepreneurial success wrecked his first marriage, reassesses his "priorities" and decides to invest more of his energy in his private life; but he can find no way of justifying his decision except that it makes him feel better about himself.

A psychotherapist, asked to explain what she means when she urges her patients to take more responsibility for their lives, equates responsibility with the obligation, in any "relationship," for all the participants to "communicate" their needs and desires. Even those more actively involved in community life find it difficult to justify their involvement.

A businessman in Suffolk, Mass., has refused several promotions that would have required him to leave the home town to which he retains a strong loyalty, but his defense of "community values" overlooks the extent to which Suffolk no longer conforms to his nostalgic image of the homogenous village.

A community organizer in San Diego rejects "privatism" and devotes himself to the "empowerment" of poor people but finds it hard to talk about the ends that might be served by this kind of political activity. "Empowerment" would enable poor people to take part in brokerage politics on an equal footing, but it would not challenge the prevailing definition of politics as brokerage.

"It seems particularly hard for those we interviewed," Bellah notes, "to articulate a language of citizenship based neither on the metaphor of extended kinship nor on a conflict of interests."

The language of liberalism implies a contractual theory not only of political relationships but of personal relationships as well. "Contractual exchange, enacted in communication and negotiation," becomes the model of intimacy. "Psychological sophistication," according to Bellah, has been "bought at the price of moral impoverishment."

A therapeutic conception of interpersonal relationships rules out all the demands that friends might

make on each other except the demand for open communication. It equates goodness with feeling good. It refuses to make any judgments about "values" and prohibits anyone from "imposing" his values on others. It defines freedom as the freedom to choose your values and to pursue your own interests without interference, on the single condition that your choices do not interfere with the freedom of others. It does not expect friends to hold each other to a demanding standard of conduct. It expects them only to "share" their respective needs.

The idea that values are arbitrary and subjective has important consequences. It means that "there is no way of deciding among them except through coercion or manipulation," in Bellah's words. Hence the devaluation of politics. Most of the people interviewed by

a consensual community of autonomous, but essentially similar individuals."

One might add that this is why Americans have always found it so difficult to carry on political discussions when consensus breaks down, as in the 19th-century struggle over slavery, or to conceive of a political community that includes people of different races and cultures. It is a striking fact that the conservative and hierarchical societies of Latin America never instituted the kind of racial segregation that grew up in the U.S., whereas the liberal definition of the political community as a collection of like-minded individuals excluded racial minorities, in the minds of many Americans, not only from citizenship but also from membership in the human race.

Debates about immigration, in

Christopher Lasch argues that Habits of the Heart is radical because it breaks away from the whole liberal tradition in its assumptions about politics and citizenship.

Bellah and his collaborators see politics either as a cutthroat competition carried on by "absolutists," "fanatics" and "self-interested infighters" or as a purely administrative routine in which conflicting claims are adjudicated by impartial experts. Conflict in effect precludes community, according to this view. Liberalism can conceive of community life only as voluntary association, founded either on common interests or on a common "lifestyle." When conflicts arise, the community dissolves. Dissenters either secede from the group, submit to superior force or accept a compromise that protects their right of private judgment but denies their right to force their own preferences on others.

Americans "feel most comfortable," according to Bellah, "in thinking about politics in terms of

the late 19th and early 20th centuries, were conducted on the similar assumption that unless immigrants could be thoroughly assimilated, they should be excluded altogether. The debate turned, in other words, on the issue of whether or not immigrants could be Americanized, not on the issue of whether or not the accepted definitions of the community was too narrow.

A calling.

A new definition of community life and citizenship, in our time, would have to rest on half-forgotten cultural traditions and on the "second languages," as Bellah calls them, that most Americans now speak haltingly and with a liberal accent. Calling on philosophers like Alasdair MacIntyre, Charles Taylor and Hans-Georg Gadamer, as well as on his-

torians who have tried to recover the biblical and republican traditions in the American past, Bellah and his co-authors argue that liberalism does not provide the only way of understanding tradition, authority and work—all of which it has radically devalued.

It is possible to think of work, for example, not as a job or career but as a calling. A more fluent use of the "second languages" of American culture might help us to "reappropriate the ethical meaning of professionalism," as Bellah puts it, and to understand that careerism and an overdeveloped emphasis on professional specialization have contributed to the moral confusion that is so characteristic of liberal individualism. The refusal of professionals to address issues beyond their specialty or to take part in public debate, except in their capacity as experts, has a decided affinity with the moral agnosticism that insists on the impossibility of judging anyone's actions except our own.

A revival of the biblical and republican traditions would also help to clarify our thinking about tradition itself. We tend to think of tradition as unquestioning adherence to the authority of the past. Instead, tradition has to be understood as a conversation with the past, in the course of which it is continually modified and reinterpreted. The question of authority is closely linked to that of tradition.

Instead of thinking of authority as a series of commandments and prohibitions, as a demand for unconditional obedience, and as a constraint on our own personal freedom of choice, we would do better to stress its exemplary and educative character and to remind ourselves of its basis in responsibility. Authority implies responsibility for others and a willingness to answer for their safety and welfare, not just the power to order them around.

It is because they hold the same views of tradition and authority that the current debates between liberals and conservatives, like the debate between individualists and collectivists, seldom rise above the level of a pseudo-debate. Conservatives today deplore disre-

spect for authority but tend to equate authority simply with the power to command, forgetting its educational and nurturant dimension. They call for "traditional values" but think of these as timeless truths, critical examination of which leads automatically to complete skepticism. Liberals, starting from the same premise, conclude that any attempt to rehabilitate tradition and authority means a revival of dogmatism, intolerance and ideological conformity.

In a comment quoted on the jacket of this book, Stephen Toulmin notes that "too much of the ethical debate today is divided between conservative dogmatists, who nail their principles to immutable mastheads, and skeptical libertarians, for whom every individual's moral choices are made up from scratch." Bellah and his collaborators have tried to cut through this debate—not, however, by pointing out a "middle way" between two extremes, as Toulmin would have it, but by exposing the philosophically untenable and historically uninformed premises shared by seemingly antagonistic positions.

Habits is written more in sorrow than in anger, and its rhetorical style is that of consolation and forgiveness rather than prophetic denunciation. But the position it tries to stake out cannot be characterized as a middle way. On the contrary, its implications seem to me quite radical. It breaks away from the prevailing mode of "value-free" research in the social sciences by defending social science as a form of public philosophy. It breaks away from the whole liberal tradition in its central assumptions about politics and citizenship.

It is radical also in reminding us that republicanism presupposes, among other things, a rough equality of material condition. The pursuit of social justice remains as urgent as ever, even if it now has to be thought of, not as a way of making it possible for all of us to do our own thing, but as a way of making citizenship more than an empty slogan. ■ *Christopher Lasch's most recent book is The Minimal Self: Psychic Survival in Troubled Times.*

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

THEATER

Ladies Against Women kills 'em with kindness

heavy lifting. Republicans emerging from their prayer breakfast looked at the pie especially decorated with the slogan "White sugar, white flour, white power" and suggested where the ladies could take a European vacation.

Of course, if you weren't at the convention, you can still see their slides and find out Virginia Cholesterol's home-made twinkie recipe by attending a Ladies Against Women consciousness lowering session, as I did in New York, where the Plutonium Players recently wound up their first East Coast tour before continuing the tour throughout June on the West Coast. Upon completing the course, I received a pink membership card, not valid until signed by "my husband," of course.

Mrs. Banks, mink stole draped around her neck, Mastercharge card plastered to the front of her hat, lips pursed in disgust, was obviously perturbed at this liberated bunch who needed consciousness lowering so we could leave Manhattan. The sweet-voiced Mrs. Cholesterol, adorned in a pink sweater and matching pocketbook, white pill-box hat, pearls and a dainty, dotted dress exhibited more tolerance. After explaining the functions of the House Committee on Unladylike Activities and the requests of the ladyfesto, ("procreation not recreation") cute Candi Cotten ran out in her pink cheerleading skirt, white sweater and pom-poms and led us through a rousing set of cheers. "B-R-A not E-R-A," we chanted until hoarse, although, thank goodness, we saved some energy for Candi's exercise session, when we practiced acting helpless. My personal favorite of this consciousness lowering session was the fashion show where Mrs. Banks modeled endangered species while Candi played "Born Free" on the piano. (Mrs. B. advised hunting the animals down before some leaf-loving group steps in.) Candi's heartfelt plea for the "Adopt a Missile" foster care program was truly moving, and there was thunderous applause when Mrs. Phyllis Le Shaft (Gail

Ann Williams) received her well-deserved EGO Forum award. I know the men in the audience profited from Col. Beauregard Bull Run's (Jeff Thompson) discourse on Lt. Calley Academy for Boys and its male insensitivity course. This memorable evening closed with the Right-Right Rev. Jerry Fallout (Jaime Mars-Walker) reminding us women "I'm a man but you're not."



Improv and abuse.

"We bring things from the street into the theater stage and back again all the time," explains Williams. "We do events totally in character and present ourselves as a newsworthy organization. For example, we write a press release mentioning that LAW is holding a Sperms Rights Rally and we do it. We disavow any knowledge of a theater group. This gives us an anonymous separate laboratory to try our material. And in terms of media, it's better to be a political weirdo than a theater troupe."

But what about those improvisational segments, where the

Ladies beg questions from the audience? Doesn't Mrs. Banks ever get stumped for an answer?

Poor Mrs. Banks gets asked anything from, "Mrs. B., would you like to fuck after the show?" to "Mrs. B., where do you keep your silverware?" "When you're really thrown," said Vincent, "you can give a non-answer like 'Oh, you must be a member of the press. Throw them out.'"

"I feel very secure playing an extreme sex role," says Williams. "I fawn all over cops and ask if they'll pose with me. If they give us any trouble, I say something like, 'It's been a pleasure working with you boys because we always like an endorsement from Peace Officers for a Police State,' but you seem non-violent when wearing a little lace hat."

And though the women players have to handle verbal harassment from men in the crowd shouting out proposals, the men in the company are more vulnerable to physical abuse. "I've had men in suits and ties take our flier, look at it for a second, wipe their asses with it and throw it on the ground," says Walker. "I've been threatened and almost punched out several times, particularly when playing an obnoxious, abrasive character."

"You see," smiles Vincent, "the crowd knows what the men's auxiliary is for—that's who gets punched out."

This physical exaggeration of right-wingers sets up the imagery for spoofing stereotypical role-playing and lampooning the perceived threats of feminism. The company's forte is taking a conservative stand on an issue, like reproductive rights, and reducing the position to absurdity by moving it further out, such as campaigning for sperms' rights and against masturbation. "But you need some part of the audience to be neutral or supportive for this to work," explains Williams. "The freaky thing about Dallas was that there was nobody neutral except the press."

"At first the Republicans thought we were cute," recalls Vincent. "We had to get more offensive so they'd realize we weren't agreeing with them."

Sometimes people start heckling when they realize the joke's on them. "You can defuse harassment by agreeing with everything," says Walker, "then going more right-wing than them." For example, once Walker asked a heckler if he believed in democracy. When the man shouted a resounding, "Damn right, I do," Walker informed him that the folks in Reagan for Shah did not, but they'd make an exception for him. Walker then polled the crowd about whether they'd rather hear

"At first the Republicans thought we were cute," said a member of the Ladies Against Women.

the loud mouth or Miss Anita Tyrant (the next character). Since the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of Miss Tyrant, the badgerer came off like a hypocritical buffoon when he kept tormenting the players. This kind of street theater is spontaneous, daring and extremely effective when it comes off. By comparison, their stage presentations are funny but more predictable.

Despite their growing popularity, all the Plutonium Players do other work for a living—"medical schlock, waitressing, construction work, etc." During their weeks in New York, they crashed in various apartments around the city, sleeping on couches, in hallways, schlepping their costumes and props from one venue to another in true vagabond fashion. Choosing the "Ladies Against Women" program for touring was an aesthetic choice, not an indication that the group feels the issue of women's roles is more or less important. Of course, they still manage to bring Central America, the Third World, nuclear power and weapons, gay rights and many other issues into their satire.

For more information and touring schedules contact the Plutonium Players, 1600 Woolsey St., Berkeley, CA 94703.

Kate Walter is a New York freelancer who writes for the Village Voice, Ms. and the Advocate.



Phyllis LeShaft and Rev. Jerry Fallout exhort the crowds in streetwise improvs, while Candi Cotten calls for "procreation, not recreation."



Helayne Seidman

By Kate Walter

MANY GRASSROOTS theater troupes sprouted up around antinuclear issues in the late '70s, but few have taken off like the Bay Area's Plutonium Players. Their "Ladies Against Women" routine, originally part of their 1980 Reagan for Shah campaign, featured characters so popular they evolved into an hour and a half satirical review and spawned nationwide chapters of Ladies Against Women (LAW), who cheer Phyllis Schafly during her speeches.

Imitation is flattering, but some political tasks, like last summer's Bake Sale for the Deficit, held outside the Republican National Convention in Dallas, still need the big guns from LAW's original chapter. Lady chairman Mrs. Theodore William Banks, a.k.a. Mrs. T. Bill Banks (Selma Vincent) from the National Association for the Advancement of Rich People and Mrs. Chester (Virginia) Cholesterol (Gail Ann Williams), widow of a prosperous margarine rancher and member of Another Mother for World Domination, were on hand selling home-made twinkies priced at several billion each. Assisting them was Miss Candi Cotten (Jain Angeles) from the Moral Sorority, the Ladies' teenage chapter. The men's auxiliary sent the Schrapnel brothers (Jeff Thompson and Jaime Mars-Walker) to help with



Helayne Seidman



TELEVISION

Hill St. OD's on adrenaline

By Richard Mahler

THE CO-CREATOR OF "HILL St. Blues" leaned back in his chair and spun a basketball between his hands. He looked at the ceiling of his Studio City office before responding to the criticism.

"We had a little more violence in the first part of the season than I was happy with," Stephen Bochco agreed. "On the other hand, 'Hill St.' has always been a violent show. 'Hill St.' has always had bizarre characters. 'Hill St.' has always been hot. And it still is. But I think we started doing stuff this season that was more casual in its violence and less consequential."

Our interview took place a few days before Bochco announced that the 1984-85 season would be his last as executive producer of the critically acclaimed MTM Enterprises police drama. Although the 41-year-old Carnegie Tech graduate would not say why he was departing, Bochco hinted at boredom and suggested that "Hill St. Blues" had begun trading social consciousness for cheap thrills.

"My favorite was the fourth season (1983-84)," he volunteered, "the season in which our ratings really began to flounder a little bit. I think the reason is because we took this fairy tale romantic couple [Frank Furillo and Joyce Davenport] and married them, and exposed them to evolution in their relationship."

"I think that dramatically that year was the most interesting we've ever done because of that," Bochco said. "And yet, it was clear to me from the mail and the dip in the ratings that it was not what people wanted to see. The television viewing audience tends, as they do in life, to resist change."

Adrenaline addiction.

Around the country, faithful fans have accused the series of "becoming just like other cop shows" by concentrating on strange charac-

ters, kinky sex and gratuitous violence.

What once set "Hill St." apart from other cop shows, *Wall Street Journal* critic George V. Higgins wrote last fall, was the way it combined dramatic incident and personal revelation "in approximately the same ratio that vermouth and gin are mixed to manufacture a martini in classic recipes: one part incident, three parts revelation."

But this season, Higgins contended that the show's producers had increased both the frequency and intensity of the program's violent incidents.

Bochco, who accords critics much of the credit for keeping his show on the air during two early

Executive producer Steve Bochco left the show when there were "no surprises left."

years of shaky ratings, suggested such changes may be inevitable in the evolution of a prime-time television program.

"'Hill St.' no longer has the capacity to surprise just by virtue of being. 'Hill St.' for two years simply surprised and delighted people almost every time it went on the air because it was such a new thing. Well, that's gone. 'Hill St. Blues' is now a fixture and has been for a long time."

A long-running series, Bochco argued, has to dig deeper to expose less: "You have revealed so much about your characters that there simply are no real surprises left. You no longer can expose major character elements—they've all been exposed time and time again."

Bochco believes that "adrenaline addictive" elements are

essential for prime-time success. "I don't think there's a one-hour series on television that doesn't at its core have 'jeopardy' as a key ingredient," he declared, defining "jeopardy" as "high melodrama, *Sturm und Drang*—real soap opera stuff."

Bochco knows whereof he speaks. For a dozen years the Manhattan native cranked out action-adventure shows for Universal Studios, including episodes of "Columbo," "McMillan and Wife," "Delevecchio" and "The Name of the Game."

Gritty realism.

As originally conceived by NBC's brash young entertainment division president, Brandon Tartikoff, "Hill St. Blues" was to be a cross between "Barney Miller" and "Ft. Apache, The Bronx." Although Bochco felt he had nothing new to offer in the cop show genre, he sought to place a template of realism over the standard cop show premise by hiring writer friends Bochco felt could give it an authenticity beyond the simple facts of life. They included Jeffrey Lewis, an assistant New York City district attorney, and David Milch, a former heroin addict and Yale writing instructor who also spent time as a law student, government speechwriter and prisoner in a Mexican jail. (The pair are replacing Bochco next season as co-producers of the series.) As Bochco sees it, the appeal of the show has always been in its authenticity. When an NBC executive discreetly asked if the level of alcohol use on the show could be reduced, he rejected the request flatly: "Cops drink. You can't fool the viewer into believing they don't."

"The networks are beginning to realize that the general viewing public is infinitely more sophisticated than they give them credit for," Bochco concluded. "[But] the temptation to compromise is everywhere in television."

Bochco is setting up shop at 20th Century Fox Television, the same studio that gave the world *M*A*S*H* and "Paper Chase." His long-term agreement allows him to write, develop and produce projects exclusively for the studio under the guidance of Fox President Haris Katleman, who has pronounced writers "the most important members of the creative team."

Richard Mahler writes on media issues for *Broadcasting*, *Emmy* and other publications.

MEDIA B E A T

Vietnam: Take Two on Public TV

The right-wing rebuttal to PBS' "Vietnam: A Television History" aired on June 26 by many public TV stations is both a legacy of William Bennett's tenure at the National Endowment for the Humanities and proof of open gates at PBS, public TV's "gatekeeper." Accuracy in Media, the "media watchdog" backed by Richard Mellon Scaife and other ultrarighters, complained last year about the Endowment's funding for the "Vietnam" series, and Bennett's response was a "chairman's grant" of \$30,000 to AIM to produce an hour-long documentary. Charlton Heston narrates the show, charging that the series denigrated Vietnam vets by saying many were "haunted" by the war, that it left the audience with "nothing America could be proud of" and did not denounce sufficiently the media's role in the U.S. defeat—hard-hitting stuff. Presumably to add content, PBS then scheduled two follow-up panels, one to discuss media criticism and one to discuss the war. Producers of the original series were outraged. "If PBS had a problem with the 'Vietnam' series," said executive producer Richard Ellison in *Variety*, "it should have taken it up with us at the time. If not, it should stand by the broadcast and behind us no matter where the criticism comes from." Ellison later agreed to participate, but series scriptwriter Stanley Karnow refused because he thinks legitimate debate is demeaned by only focusing on AIM's objections. Further, he with others thinks this sets a dangerous precedent. (AIM head Reed Irvine says he wouldn't make such responses more than, say, three times a year. NEH staffers take note.) Public affairs has always been the most flexible part of public TV's spine, but this exercise of pseudo-debate really bends it into pretzels.

Rolling Stone: The Next Generation

Those who expected anything more from the movie *Perfect*, in which *Rolling Stone* editor Jann Wenner plays himself, probably haven't looked at *Rolling Stone* itself since it got stapled. Once a voice of hippie culture, it's swimming hard toward the mainstream. The *Stone's* circulation has increased 30 percent in the last two years, thanks to scientific marketing and polling techniques. Using focus group interviews with occasional readers, *Rolling Stone's* marketing experts determine which current popular personalities are; most likely to sell the most covers. Market research also tipped the *Stone* to the fact that its prized under-30 audience voted two-to-one for Reagan. In its attempt to go with the times, the *Stone* has gone ever lighter on political news. These days, a company *vp* told the *New York Times*, "You couldn't sell a political story [to the *Stone*] if you pasted dollar bills around it." The real challenge lies ahead for *Rolling Stone*: distinguishing itself from its new and revamped acquisition, *US*.

Science Anxiety

Prime-time TV may be fostering mass anxiety about high technology, if researchers at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania are right. The researchers analyzed prime-time images of scientists and science over two years, and conducted a national survey of public opinion. They found that scientists are more likely to be evil and foreign than are doctors and police, and that they have the highest fatal casualty rate of all occupational groups on TV. The dangerous and solitary (most scientists are shown working obsessively and alone) world of the scientists appears to color popular expectations. Heavy TV viewers express more anxiety about the role of science in modern life than light viewers do. "Foreboding images of odd and perilous activity seem to heighten fears, strengthen the desire for restraints and inhibit the inclination for science as an occupation or an area of public participation," the study claims. That sounds like a kind of backhanded boost to the Star Wars proposals of the administration, which seem to draw some of their data from "Battlestar Galactica" reruns.

Documentary Film, Poetic Truth

If you ever doubt American cultural insularity, consider that one of the world's most renowned documentary filmmakers, Dutch national Joris Ivens, is virtually unknown here. A lifelong leftist, Ivens early on used film to chronicle and engage in political movements. In 1936 he and others made *Spanish Earth*; in 1940 he lived with an American farm family for three months to make *Power and the Land*. Other film subjects included revolutionary Cuba, Vietnam and China. In the latest issue of film magazine *Cineaste*, Deborah Shaffer interviews Ivens, now 85, about his career in political filmmaking, and he is as provocative in print as on screen. Tackling the problem of political messages in art, he criticizes films—including some of his own—that cheerlead. He concludes, "We are like poets. Poetry can outdo a novel by saying something precisely and concisely, by condensing things.... The power of poetry should play a larger part in our work. Filming reality is copying it, but you have to go further than that, into art. I don't know if I've succeeded, but I still worry about it. Think about the genius of Dante, who in a poem could describe a battle scene as it looked from the air. When I was in a fighter plane during the war, it looked just as he had described it. How he did it, God knows, but he did it in his imagination. So you shouldn't be afraid to ask your imagination to do more than you think you can."

— Pat Aufderheide

ANC

Continued from page 11

government that it had better act more quickly to expel lists of suspected ANC sympathizers compiled by South African security.

Select targets.

Founded in 1912, the ANC seeks to abolish apartheid and establish what it calls a "democratic nationalist state" based on one-person-one-vote and some form of socialism. The organization pursued a policy of non-violent political protest until the minority government banned it and imprisoned its top leadership during the early '60s.

Alfred Nzo, secretary general and the ANC's second-ranking official, said during an interview at the group's Lusaka headquarters that the coming intensification of violence within South Africa will "not be aimed indiscriminately, but at selected personnel targets. We're not going to explode bombs in cinemas and restaurants simply because the white race is in there."

While some cadre inside the country have urged the ANC to broaden its attacks to include certain civilian targets, sources said the consultative conference of delegates now scheduled for mid-June is unlikely to approve such a departure from the ANC's traditional aversion to methods that could be labeled as "terrorism."

Yet ANC spokesmen dismissed as "naive" the repeated calls by Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, winner of last year's Nobel Peace Prize, for an end to attacks on blacks who administer apartheid in the townships. "We respect his stance on nonviolence, but we don't think he understands the problems of apartheid when he condemns violence against black collaborators," said Chris Hani, political commissar of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing. Hani is the third-ranking officer in the ANC army and a member of the National Executive Committee.

"What appears to be attacks by blacks against blacks is actually an attack on the system, or at least on the visible agents of the system," he said. He then compared black officials to the Vichy government that collaborated in the Nazi occupation of France during World War II. "The machinery of apartheid cannot function without the collaboration of blacks," he added.

The ANC statement calls on community organizations in the black ghettos to replace what it calls the "collapsing government stooge councils" with "people's committees." The ANC hopes these revolutionary committees will refuse to enforce unpopular laws, or to collect rents and taxes on behalf of the central government.

Because no other administrative apparatus will be permitted to function, eventually "the government will be forced to deal with these popular organs," Hani said. According to another member of the committee that commands the ANC army, Soweto's

council is already in disarray due to internal divisions and resignations induced by harassment by local militants. Soweto, with a population of two million, is the nation's largest township.

Hani predicted that if the government refused, only laws passed by the people's committees would be obeyed. In addition, he said, the ANC would call on the people's committees to call and enforce two- to four-day work stoppages linked to increasingly bolder political demands.

Intimidation of black police and administrators is a key element of a broader ANC strategy aimed at forcing white South African security forces to directly occupy and administer the urban townships and rural bantustans, according to Hani. With their occupying forces spread thin, white security personnel will become more vulnerable to ambushes by ANC guerrillas who are busy organizing clandestine cells and training recruits throughout the country, he said.

To control areas housing more than 23 million blacks, security will become an increasing drain on South Africa's already depressed economy, Hani predicted. ANC leaders assume that economic decline will fuel further opposition to the ruling Nationalist Party among both blacks and whites. Hani said ANC military strategists have decided to facilitate this strategy by opening two new theaters of operation later this year. The ANC's primary military objective will be to "extend revolutionary violence into the rural areas to increase feelings of insecurity among white farmers," whom Hani considers the staunchest defenders of apartheid.

The principal target of these attacks will be black bantustan security forces and tribal officials, which Hani expects will force the South African Defense Forces (SADF) to occupy homeland such as Ciskei and Transkei that Pretoria claims are independent nations. ANC soldiers will also attempt to "move against" officers of the SADF and against officers of the special branch of the security police, Hani said. The security

police are often accused of mistreating even peaceful opponents of apartheid. Although these attacks would be based on "selective violence" against a hit list of notoriously violent officers, Hani said that the ordinary conscripted white soldier would eventually become a target as well.

"We want to drive a point home," he said. "Parents must know of real, practical instances where young, innocent, ordinary soldiers were killed for serving in the apartheid army."

In December Mac Maharaj, secretary of the Political-Military Council that oversees ANC internal operations, outlined the planned shift from the previous strategy of "armed propaganda" (which stressed sabotage against sophisticated economic targets) to a strategy of "sustainable" attacks aimed at killing significant numbers of South African security personnel.

Maharaj said the new strategy of using simpler weapons, such as petrol bombs and limpet mines, to hit enemy personnel will be less dependent on supplies and communications from the Frontline States. Guerrillas trained at ANC camps in Angola and in several Soviet bloc nations will continue to infiltrate back into South Africa, blend into township life and train larger numbers of cadre locally.

The decision to pursue a strategy of decentralized, small-scale attacks is significant in light of Pretoria's largely successful effort over the past two years to coerce neighboring governments into explicit or implicit agreements to curtail ANC movement across their borders. According to Maharaj, the ANC "suffered tremendously because of the Nkomati Accord" signed by Mozambique at the urging of the Reagan administration. Mozambique agreed to close off the ANC's main infiltration routes across South Africa's eastern border.

Although the terrain and the sophistication of the SADF always ruled out a more conventional hit-and-run guerrilla war operating out of rear bases in the Frontline States, Maharaj said Nkomati "sped up" implementation of a strategy premised on a "people's war" aimed at rendering apartheid ungovernable.

According to Thozamile Botha, administrative secretary of SACTU, the outlawed black labor federation affiliated with the ANC, black unions are coming around to the ANC position that organized labor should demand broader political rights for all blacks and not focus solely on narrower bread-and-butter issues.

Secretary General Nzo predicted that as the ANC leads young blacks into open rebellion in townships and begins killing white security personnel, the government will react with brutal reprisals that will, in the long run, alienate many moderate whites from the Nationalist Party and lead the international community to impose economic sanctions.

Although most whites continue to support State President P.W. Botha's policy of incremental reform combined with forceful retaliations against township unrest, Nzo and other ANC leaders remain confident their scenario is unfolding.

"When we step up the violence, Botha will remove the cloak of being a moderate and move to the extreme right. He will then cut his nose as far as his international friends are concerned," Nzo said. He added that the ANC hopes that by provoking harsh repression by the government, the Reagan administration will be pressured by public and congressional opinion to abandon its policy of "constructive engagement." That policy rejects calls for economic sanctions and instead relies on quiet diplomacy to nudge the minority government to enact reforms such as the recent repeal of the law prohibiting interracial sex and marriage.

Yet, there are signs that the Reagan administration may be rethinking its South Africa policy. On June 14, the State Department recalled U.S. Ambassador to South Africa Herman Nickel to review the situation there. The administration said it took that action to protest South African military raids into neighboring Botswana and Angola.

Michael Calabrese is on assignment for *In These Times* in southern Africa.

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Disney

Continued from page 24

disheveled black hair blowing in the breeze. "You know," he said, "the trouble with a lot of you kids is that you go around with a chip on your shoulder and think that the world owes you a living. Well, it doesn't." He waved at the security guards—all male, quite tall and athletic. The scowls on their faces gave me the impression they were also bad-tempered. As they took hold of my arms with grips that made my arms hurt from the pressure, I could hear the employer yelling, "Listen, fella, you get the hell on out of here." I felt a fist in my belly. I lost control of my feet and was aware I was being dragged along before I could catch up in a running step. My head was pushed from behind; bending forward, I met an elbow that exploded in my face. A solid hit to my kidneys left me numb with back pain. At the entrance to the chain link fence I got kicked and tossed out.

The Anglo security guards were experts at working over un-cooperative people without drawing attention to themselves. They smiled, and one even waved at other people standing around, as if to ask, "How are you today?" I got into my outdated Will-ys. Before I left, though, I drove around the outside of the construction area for the "Magic Kingdom," supposed to represent the love of Walt Disney for children.

Toward the end of the construction, people were being hired to run amusements. Properly dressed, clean-shaven, I decided to make my own approach, without referral from the employment office. Now, the hardhatted construction crews were nowhere in sight. Instead there were well-dressed, smiling Anglo men and women.

I still remember the sea of white faces that met me that day. As the uniformed security guard waved people on to parking spots, I just knew I was going to make it this time. Even if I could never use my art skills, I could sell tickets, scrub floors, anything. "Good morning," I said to the security guard as I stepped out of my car. The guard only smiled as he waved the cars in.

I filled out the application form and handed it to the woman who was taking them. My heart was going a mile a minute as she read my application. She shook her head, and I knew what she was going to say before the words even left her lips.

"Sure you're sorry," I said, as others pretended not to hear me. "What's the matter?" I said in a louder voice. "Are you afraid to say what you really mean?" A buzz rose in the crowd.

"How about that, you people?" I said, turning to the crowd. "Are there any Mexicans out there? Any Negroes? Let me tell you, you came to the wrong place to look for work."

The woman was well-dressed and businesslike. She said, "Now look, I really am sorry, but you'd better leave right now before I have to call security." And I started to leave. But then, noticing a large wooden crate lying on the ground, I jumped on top of it. Everyone looked at me, perhaps thinking I was putting on some kind of act. I spotted a pair of Hispanic women in their early 20s who seemed to be waving at me to get down off the box. A black man stood with both hands in his pockets. He quickly turned away and smiled as he spoke to a white man standing next to him. It looked to me like he was trying to deny his minority status.

"Boy, are you ever in for a big disappointment!" I shouted. "You looking for work here?" I laughed. "This man was supposed to love children. Does that mean all

children or just some? Let me tell you, I never saw him hugging a child that wasn't lily white. What he really wants is your black or Chicano money, that's all. He doesn't give a damn about you, me, or anyone else who's not the right color."

As I yelled, I could see several security guards running in my direction at full gallop. The next thing I knew, my jaw was numb, my head was dizzy, I felt dirt under me. Blood was running down my shirt. My nose felt three times its normal size. I was unable to stand on both legs, and I limped along as I was moved out of the crowded area. For the first time since my first trip to the Magic Kingdom, I broke down and cried. Sitting handcuffed in the police car, I could hear the now-familiar Disneyland theme song. The police walked me back to my car and said, "Don't come back. If we see you down here again you're going to jail."

Anaheim is no longer a wide-open area. It is filled with hotels, motels and even

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convention centers. Every once in a while, I drive by and stop long enough to gaze at Disneyland. For me, it stands for prejudice, unfair play and white supremacy.
Ralph Soto is a pseudonym.

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By Ralph Soto

MICKY MOUSE AND ALL THE other cheerful, funny Walt Disney characters were a happy part of my childhood. But after the experiences I had as a young man at the budding Disneyland facility at Anaheim, Calif., I never have seen the cartoon characters in the same perspective.

It was the early '50s. I had just left high school and, like others, I was out looking for the job that never seemed to be there. The employment office always seemed friendly. I had no money to pick up, since I had no unemployment checks coming in. But I stood in line just to get up to the window and be handed post-card-sized job applications. The idea was to ensure that those getting unemployment benefits were

actually looking for work. In my case, it meant nothing, as I was subsisting on welfare that never completely lasted out the month. Because I told them of my interest in art and my ability to draw cartoons, the office sent me down to Anaheim.

This was an age before freeways, and travel was slow. I drove a 1942 Willys Americar. With a 60 horsepower, 4-cylinder motor, the economy was outstanding, something that gave me an edge at a time when any expense saved was money earned.

Road graders, hardhatted workers on building machinery, carpenters, artists—everyone at the new Disneyland site seemed busy. I walked through the soft soil, nervous and jittery as any Hispanic weighing in at an even 120 pounds soaking wet and close to six feet tall. I handed the man the card. He looked at it, reached into his shirt

pocket to pull out his pen, and signed the card. He told me to keep looking.

I looked for other jobs, sometimes walking around my home town of Azusa, asking, begging, all but getting out-and-out hostile from constant rejections by the end of the day. But every few days I got the same old story from the employment office: "They are hiring a lot of people down there, why don't you go take a look?" Listen, I had to drive from Azusa to Monrovia to get a referral card, and again another 40 miles down to Anaheim on crowded surface streets. The trip often meant going without lunch in order to put fuel into the tiny gas tank. Let me tell you, I almost felt the hunger pangs before I left.

The weather was warming up, and the chill I felt each time I got in my car was replaced by warm rays of sunshine. I didn't mind the driving, but I was getting tired of

overweight Anglos who always had the same thing to say: "Sorry."

Spot jobs? Yes, I had one-day, one-hour, one-time jobs that lasted only long enough for the employer to get what he or she wanted. Then it was, "Here you go, kid, five dollars." And always the woman at the employment office sent me back down to that godforsaken Disneyland. Buildings were frantically being thrown together, and Disneyland was hiring like mad, but never a job for Ralph.

One day I snapped and told the employer to his fat white face, "I suppose that I just don't blend in with all the nice European-looking people you're hiring, right? You're not really interested in the fact that I can draw quite well, or work with cartoon characters, or..."

He stood up. He had a husky look about him that contrasted with my frail frame and

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